Thirst for Knowledge

Historic Context for the 1872 Neosho Colored School

Prepared for the Carver Birthplace Association
and the
National Park Service

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by
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Members of the Gage and Alexander Families of Neosho, date unknown.
From the collections of the George Washington Carver National Monument.

The first national superintendent of schools for the Freedmen's Bureau, northerner John W. Alvord, began his tenure with the Bureau in late 1865 with a personal tour of the former confederate states. His first report for the Bureau, written in January of 1866, commenced with the following notes.

"The desire of the freedmen for knowledge cannot be overstated."
He included a list of reasons for that enthusiasm, the first of which was
"the natural thirst for knowledge common to man."[1]

[1] John W. Alvord, *Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen*, (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office), January, 1866, 1.

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Note: A separate binder containing printouts from a searchable database which contains just over 900 records has been prepared to accompany this report. The database was created specifically for this project. It includes information from the U. S. Population Census' of 1870, 1880 and 1900, as well as numerous historical accounts. The database documents every African American listed in the 1870, 1880, and 1900 Census' for Neosho and Neosho Township, as well as other residents identified during this study.

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Executive Summary

This document has been prepared to assist with the interpretation of the 1872 Neosho Colored School, which was the first dedicated schoolhouse for African Americans in the Newton County, Missouri, town of Neosho. The modest building was built ca. 1871 as a residence, and in 1872 it was purchased by the local school board specifically to serve as an African American school. It continued in that role until 1891, and was often Neosho's only African American schoolhouse in the years it was in operation.

The building is important for its connection to African American education in Neosho, and to famed scientist George Washington Carver. The Neosho school was the first school in which Carver attended classes for any substantial length of time, and it is the only surviving public school building that he attended. It provides a significant link to his long and often difficult pursuit of an education. The building was listed in the National Register of Historic Places on April 17, 2017, for its association with Carver and its important early role in African American education in Neosho. As noted in the interpretive prospectus for the school building, titled "The Golden Door of Freedom," the Neosho school "serves as a tangible example of the struggles faced by African Americans from the Civil War to Civil Rights in the pursuit of education and equality."[2]

The historical movements discussed in this document directly and indirectly shaped the lives of Carver and the scores of other students who attended the Neosho school over the years. The time period covered in this study begins in the early years of Missouri statehood, and extends to 1900, to include the busy years of Reconstruction, which brought about a legal framework for civil rights. The later part of the century saw the rise of racial tensions which spawned Jim Crow and the Exodus. Special emphasis is given to the years the Neosho Colored School was in operation—1872-1891. That period includes the two decades George Washington Carver spent traveling from town to town and state to state in search of educational opportunities.

Race relations in America underwent great changes in the last half of the nineteenth century. Before the Civil War, African Americans were often treated as property rather than human beings. Although the Civil War ended slavery in Missouri in 1865, change was slow. The post war years saw the creation of a number of federal programs to restore the Union and improve living conditions for persons who had been enslaved. That process was part of a movement known as Reconstruction, which is generally described as taking place from 1861 to 1900.[3] Changes implemented during Reconstruction included laws to guarantee public education for African Americans, provided it could be done in "separate but equal" facilities.

[2] "…'The Golden Door of Freedom', George Washington Carver and 1872 Neosho Colored School," Prospectus for the George Washington Carver National Monument and Carver Birthplace Association, Diamond, MO, 2014.
[3] Gregory P. Downs and Kate Masur, *The Era of Reconstruction, 1861-1900* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 2017).

Those new African American schools were separate, but rarely equal. Black schools of the nineteenth century were routinely less equipped or staffed than white schools, and even a basic education was often achieved only through extraordinary efforts of black students and their parents. George Washington Carver was one such student; at a very young age he moved to Neosho on his own to attend a new "colored" school on Young Street.

As the century wore on, racial intolerance expanded rather than receded, as seen in the enactment of laws to limit the rights of African Americans, often referred to as Jim Crow laws. Those laws were particularly common in the states of the Deep South, but Missouri was not without its own racial issues. Whites increasingly saw freed blacks as a threat to their jobs and way of life, and racial violence escalated in the 1870s and 80s. This led to what many historians refer to as the "Exodus," in which thousands of blacks left the south in search of better living conditions. Many of those "Exodusters" went to Kansas, including George Washington Carver, who left Neosho with a family headed to Fort Scott, Kansas, in 1878. Carver spent the next decade in Kansas, where he progressed as far as high school, and he concluded his education in Iowa in 1896, with B.A. and M.A. degrees from Iowa State College.

The Neosho Colored School remained in operation long after Carver left town, and it was for many students the only school they ever knew. The school was part of the social fabric of the African American community in Neosho. It was is located in an area that had a concentration of African American residents in the late 1800s, as well as at least one other black school and three historically black churches. The Young Street school and its teachers served as prominent reminders of the advantages of an education. Longtime teacher Steven S. Frost, for example, was particularly well-regarded in the community (by black and white citizens) and he is often described as a positive role model for his students and other members of the community.[4] The neighborhood was also the home of Andrew and Mariah Watkins, with whom Carver lived while attending school. "Aunt Mariah," as she was known to many townspeople, was a property owner with medical training who worked as a midwife in the area for decades. She was one of the best-known women in the community, and she is credited with strengthening Carver's religious beliefs and his commitment to attain an education.

Nothing happens in a vacuum. An examination of the social and economic forces that impacted African Americans in the region during the late nineteenth century helps to illustrate the historical importance of George Washington Carver's first formal school. By the same token, the school building gives us a tangible connection to the history of African American education in southwest Missouri.

[4] *Historic Structure Report, 1872 Neosho Colored School, 639 Young Street, Neosho, Missouri,* (Kansas City, Missouri: Susan Richards Johnson and Associates, Inc. July 17, 2012), 23-24.

Introduction

In 1865, Missouri passed legislation that required public school districts to educate all students, regardless of race.[5] That act nullified a law passed in 1847 that had specifically forbidden the education of "negroes or mulattos."[6] As was the case in many parts of Missouri, the Civil War had left the Newton County school system in shambles, and there were few facilities for students of any race when the legislation passed in 1865. The Neosho school board spent the next few years getting white schools up and running, but by 1872 they were ready to address African American education as well. In September 1872 the school board purchased a small residence on Young Street, and it was soon placed into service as the town's first dedicated African American school house.

The new school was well-received, with 30 students registered for the 1873-74 school year, and it served scores of African American students over the years, including George Washington Carver. Carver moved to Neosho on his own in late 1876 specifically to attend the new school; he was just 11 or 12 years old at the time. Carver had been living on the farm of former slaveholders Moses and Susan Carver, who supported his desire to receive an education. While he was in Neosho, he lived with Andrew and Mariah Watkins, a black couple who owned a house next door to the school. That move resulted in Carver's first substantial time in a classroom, as well as his first experience as part of an African American social network. Carver left Neosho in 1878 in search of better educational facilities, and he went on to become one of the world's best known scientists.

The former house on Young Street served as an African American school until 1891, when it was replaced with a larger new building located a few blocks to the north, and the school board sold the property in 1893.[7] The building returned to residential use after the sale, and saw several additions and alterations over the next century. Although its early function as a school was known locally for many years, by the early twenty-first century that history was nearly forgotten. Modern changes to the building had led to speculation that it had been replaced at some point, and when it was abandoned to Arvest Bank in 2004, there was talk of demolition.

The threat of demolition spurred action by interested parties, including the George Washington Carver Birthplace Association (CBA), and the George Washington Carver National Monument (Monument), who worked together to determine if it was the original school building. After a site visit by National Park Service Historical Architect Al O'Bright confirmed a

[5] Stacy Alvarez, "Special History Study: Significance of the 1872 Neosho 'Colored School', Neosho, Missouri," (Report on file with the George Washington Carver National Monument, Diamond, MO, 2005), 7.
[6] Laws of the State of Missouri. Negros and Mulattoes. "AN ACT respecting slaves, free negroes and mulattoes." Feb. 16, 1847. Accessed June 28, 2017.
http://www.sos.mo.gov/CMSImages/MDH/AnActRespectingSlaves,1847.pdf.
[7] Newton County Deed Records, Book 35, P. 92. The brick school building is still standing, and now serves as a private residence.

ca. 1870s construction date for the building, the bank donated the property to the CBA, which teamed with the National Park Service to plan for its preservation. In 2012, the National Park Service sponsored a Historic Structure Report for the property, to document its history and use over time, and to present a range of options for rehabilitation and future reuse.[8]

The Historic Structure Report (HSR) served as a valuable guide for HistoriCorps volunteers, who spent several weeks working on the school in the summer of 2016. Working under the supervision of NPS architect Al O'Bright and Angie Geist Gaebler, the architect that headed the HSR team, the volunteers removed most of the modern additions and finishes from the building and stabilized it to prepare for future restoration work. As a result, the building today looks much as it did when Carver was a student there.

Figure 2. Photos of the 1872 Neosho Colored School.
Left: Before restoration work, 2012. Right: After removal of later additions, 2016.
Photos by Deb Sheals.

The work done by the HistoriCorps volunteers also facilitated the successful completion of a years-long effort to list the building in the National Register of Historic places. It was listed April 17, 2017, in recognition of its association with Carver and with African American Education in Neosho.[9] The National Register nomination and the Historic Structures Report identified the same period of significance—1872 to 1891, to correspond with the years the school was in operation. The time period discussed in this report is slightly longer—1821 to 1900, to include a broader historical framework for that core period.

Plans call for completion of the restoration of the school building in the future. The restored building will serve as a valuable illustration of the history of African American education and

[8] *Historic Structure Report, 1872 Neosho Colored School,* 23-24.
[9] Sheals, Debbie, and Jason Gart, PhD. National Register Nomination, "1872 Neosho Colored School," 2016.

culture in the Neosho area. This report has been prepared to support the future interpretation of the school for visitors. The goal is to provide additional historical context for the school and the African American community of nineteenth-century Neosho, and to help bring that history to life for visitors.

The body of the report is organized around four main topics, all of which relate to George Washington Carver and the 1872 Neosho Colored School. *Section A. Slavery in Missouri: 1821-1865,* provides an overview of slavery with a focus on conditions in Missouri. *Section B. Civil Rights from Reconstruction to Segregation: 1865-1900*, includes an overview of civil rights and race relations during the tumultuous last third of the nineteenth century. *Section C. Education for African Americans: 1865-1900,* covers the history and development of African American education, widely considered to be one of the most important products of the early civil rights movement. Finally, *Section D. African Americans in Neosho: 1865-1900* takes a closer look at the African American community in Neosho, including students and teachers of the school on Young Street.

This document has been written to provide historical context and to serve as a quick reference guide. Separate topics within the sections are marked with subheadings, and first references to important terms or events are emphasized with bolded text for ease of reference. Each chapter concludes with a note about likely sources of additional information, as well as a brief timeline of events covered in the preceding pages. The References section at the end of the report includes a list of the interpretive goals found in *The Golden Door of Freedom*, a set of Questions and Answers for each of the main sections, and a general timeline of major events that covers the entire period of significance. The report is also indexed.

The report was written by Debbie Sheals, an architectural historian who served as the project historian for the 2012 Historic Structure Report. Andrea Herries and Maggie Nothnagel provided research assistance. Sheals also co-authored and edited the final version of the National Register nomination for the building in 2016. Project oversight and assistance for the project was supplied by Lana Henry and Randall Becker of the George Washington Carver National Monument (GWCNM), as well as Kim Miles and Ann McCormick of the Carver Birthplace Association (CBA.) Rachel Franklin Weekley of the National Park Service (NPS) provided invaluable editing and technical assistance. Local historians Mary Jean Barker and Larry James kindly shared insight and research into African American history in Neosho, and GWCNM staff member Curtis Gregory cheerfully assisted with research. The CBA and the NPS co-sponsored the preparation of this report.

A. Slavery in Missouri

George Washington Carver was born on a small farm in southwest Missouri, around the end of the Civil War.[1] Although scholars and even Carver himself have been unable to definitively set a date for his birth, it is generally agreed that he was born in 1864 or early 1865.[2] He was the son of Mary Carver, who had been purchased by Moses Carver in 1855, at the approximate age of 13.[3] Mary and her two sons, George and Jim, were the only persons held by Moses Carver and his wife Susan. Although Carver was obviously too young to remember what it was like to be enslaved, and may even have been born free, events that took place before the war directly impacted his life, and the lives of his friends and family.

Slavery in the Missouri Territory

The institution of slavery played a pivotal role in the creation of the state of Missouri. When the Missouri Territory became part of the United States with the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, it already had more than 10,000 residents. Just over 1,000 (roughly 10%) of those persons were black, and all or most of them were enslaved.[4] In 1804, just a year after the Louisiana Purchase, treatment of the African American residents of the territory was legislated via the passage of the Black Codes, which laid out formal rules regarding slavery and the treatment of blacks.[5]

The Black Codes limited the rights of enslaved persons and even defined who would be legally considered black. Any person having just one quarter "negro blood" was categorized as black and therefore bound by the codes.[6] Enslaved persons were treated as personal property, and by the same token, were prohibited from owning any property themselves.[7]

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[1] Jason H. Gart, *He Shall Direct Thy Paths: The Early Life of George W. Carver,* Historic Resource Study, George Washington Carver National Monument, Diamond, Missouri (National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2014), 22.

[2] Although an early NPS study put his birthdate at 1860, subsequent research supports a birthdate of 1864 or 1865. See Gart *He Shall Direct Thy Paths: The Early Life of George W. Carver,* 25-26, and Anna Coxe Toogood. *Historic Resource Study and Administrative History: George Washington Carver National Monument, Diamond, Missouri* (National Park Service, Denver, CO, July 1973), 19-21.

[3] Gart, *He Shall Direct Thy Paths: The Early Life of George W. Carver,* 22.

[4] Lorenzo J. Greene, Gary R. Kremer, and Antonio F. Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1993), 19-21.

[5] "Missouri State Archives, Missouri's Early Slave Laws: A History in Documents," Missouri Digital Heritage, accessed June 28, 2017, http://www.sos.gov/archives/education/aahi/earlyslavelaws/slavelaws.

[6] Harrison Anthony Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri 1804-1865*, 58.

[7] Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri 1804-1865*, 64.

The Black Codes in the Missouri Territory were enacted in a large part to control the slave population and guard against rebellions. This came on the heels of the successful slave revolt in Haiti that ended in 1803, and an unsuccessful revolt in the state of Virginia that took place in 1800.[8] Many residents of the new Missouri territory were from Virginia, and the codes were modeled on those of Virginia. Adoption of those codes marked the start of a more than fifty-year string of legislative actions that restricted the rights of African Americans.

As the new territory developed, slavery continued to be an important part of the economy, which was largely based upon agriculture. The proportion of black to white residents increased, and by 1820, the population of the territory included 56,016 white residents and just over 10,000 black slaves, or close to 18% of the total. [9] That large number of residents qualified the territory for statehood. In accordance with the United States Constitution, once the population of a territory exceeded that of the least populous state in the union, the territory could begin the process of becoming a state.

Missouri Compromise

As territorial representatives began to push for Missouri's admission to the Union, slavery became a major issue. Would slavery be legal in the new state? As one historical account put it: "The debate over that question was a rehearsal for the great crisis that eventually split the country into civil war in 1861."[10] By the late 1810s, the nation was becoming more and more divided over the issue of slavery. Slavery was by then illegal in most northern states but legal and very much a part of the economies of southern states. The prospect of adding new states, and therefore new federal legislators, brought the issue of slavery to the forefront of national politics. Population of the north was growing faster than that of the south, and since the number of seats in the House of Representatives is based upon population, southern pro-slavery legislators were gradually being outnumbered. The Senate was seen as the equalizing factor, since membership in the Senate is limited to two senators from each state, regardless of size. Because of that situation, the position of any new state on the issue of slavery took on national significance. As of 1819, there were an equal number of slave and free states, and pro-slavery advocates fought hard to ensure that free states would not outnumber slave states in the future.[11]

After protracted political wrangling and much national debate, the nation settled on what became known as the Missouri Compromise. Missouri entered the union as a slave state and

[8] Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage*, 19-21.
[9] Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage,* 22.
[10] Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage,* 22.
[11]Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage,* 22.

Maine entered as a free state, which preserved the existing balance. Additionally, it was decreed that all land within the Louisiana Purchase located north of 36 degrees and 30 minutes North Latitude that was not located in Missouri would be forever free.[12] (That line lies roughly at the southern border of Missouri.) The legislation for the Missouri Compromise was passed March 6, 1820, paving the way for the state of Missouri to create a constitution and apply for statehood.

Legislating Slavery—Limiting Education

On August 10, 1821, Missouri became the 24th state of the Union, under a constitution that made slavery legal. That state constitution included some protections for slaves, with a clause that directed the state legislature to enact laws "to oblige the owners of slaves to treat them with humanity, and to abstain from all injuries to them extending to life and limb."[13] Those small protections were more the exception than the rule however, and the code focused more on restrictions than protections for the enslaved. Missouri enacted numerous new laws to limit the rights of African Americans over the coming years. A state version of the territorial Black Codes was enacted in 1822, and renewed with few changes several times over the coming decades.[14] As the issue of abolition began to take on national significance, laws were passed to address that as well. In 1837, a law was created to prohibit "the publication, circulation, or promulgation of the abolition doctrines."[15]

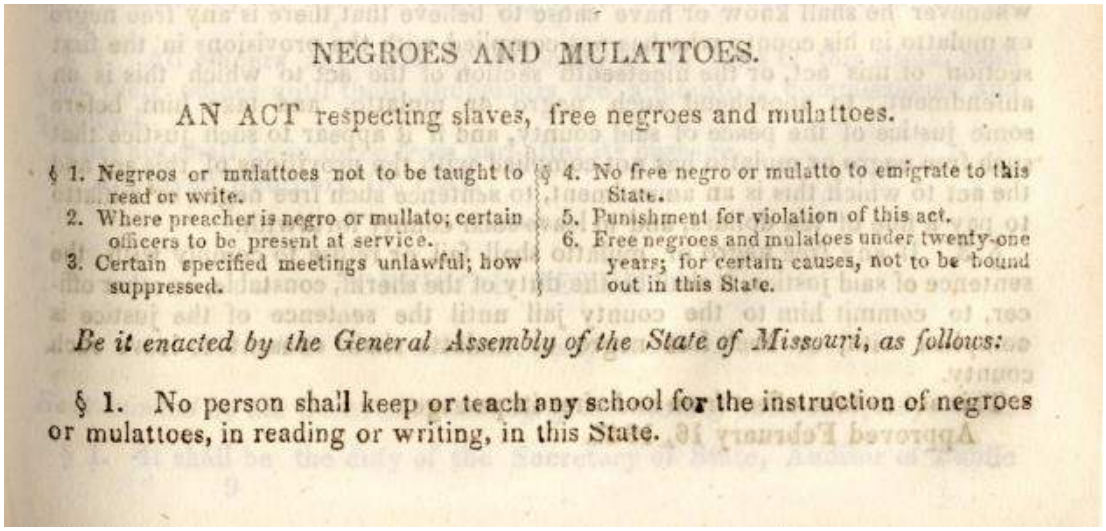
As the national debate over slavery escalated, Missouri slaveholders continued to fear abolitionist sentiments, and additional legislation ensued. In 1847, the state constitution was amended to further restrict the rights of African Americans. That legislation prohibited "negroes or mulattoes" from assembling for religious services without oversight, so as to "to prevent all seditious speeches, and unorderly or unlawful conduct of any kind." [16] Proponents of that change also reasoned that educating the enslaved would facilitate unrest and uprisings, and it became a crime to "keep or teach any school for the instruction of negroes or mulattoes, in this State."[17] (See Figure 3.) Like the Black Codes and other laws regarding slavery in Missouri, those changes were done to prevent unrest. Supporters of the legislation felt that allowing African Americans to congregate made it easier for them to share

[12] "Primary Documents in American History: Missouri Compromise--March 6, 1820," Library of Congress, Web Guides, accessed Aug. 22, 2017, https://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/Missouri.html.
[13] Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri 1804-1865,* 68.
[14] Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri 1804-1865,* 66.
[15] "Laws Concerning Slavery in Missouri"; Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri 1804-1865,* 70.
[16] William E. Parrish, *A History of Missouri, Volume III 1860 to 1875* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1973), 145.
[17] Laws of the State of Missouri, Negros and Mulattoes, "AN ACT respecting slaves, free negroes and mulattoes," accessed June 28, 2017, http://www.sos.mo.gov/CMSImages/MDH/AnActRespectingSlaves,1847.pdf.

information and to learn about the growing abolitionist movement. Additionally, if they could read and write, then that type of information could be distributed even without gatherings.

Figure 3. 1847 Law, passed Feb. 16, 1847.

Laws of the State of Missouri, Negroes and Mulattoes, "AN ACT respecting slaves, free negroes and mulattoes, "accessed June 28, 2017, http://www.sos.mo.gov/CMSImages/MDH/AnActRespectingSlaves,1847.pdf.



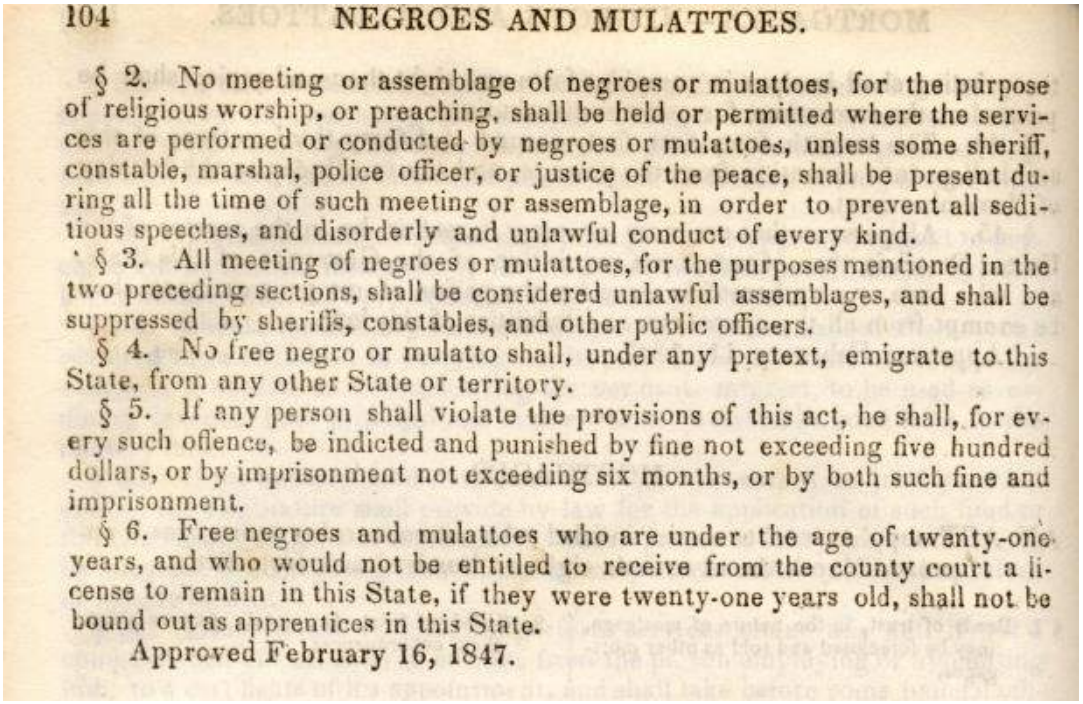
NEGROES AND MULATTOES.

AN ACT respecting slaves, free negroes and mulattoes.

§ 1. Negroes or mulattoes not to be taught to read or write.
2. Where preacher is negro or mullato; certain officers to be present at service.
3. Certain specified meetings unlawful; how suppressed.
4. No free negro or mulatto to emigrate to this State.
5. Punishment for violation of this act.
6. Free negroes and mulatoes under twenty-one years; for certain causes, not to be bound out in this State.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, as follows:

§ 1. No person shall keep or teach any school for the instruction of negroes or mulattoes, in reading or writing, in this State.



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§ 2. No meeting or assemblage of negroes or mulattoes, for the purpose of religious worship, or preaching, shall be held or permitted where the services are performed or conducted by negroes or mulattoes, unless some sheriff, constable, marshal, police officer, or justice of the peace, shall be present during all the time of such meeting or assemblage, in order to prevent all seditious speeches, and disorderly and unlawful conduct of every kind.

§ 3. All meeting of negroes or mulattoes, for the purposes mentioned in the two preceding sections, shall be considered unlawful assemblages, and shall be suppressed by sheriffs, constables, and other public officers.

§ 4. No free negro or mulatto shall, under any pretext, emigrate to this State, from any other State or territory.

§ 5. If any person shall violate the provisions of this act, he shall, for every such offence, be indicted and punished by fine not exceeding five hundred dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

§ 6. Free negroes and mulattoes who are under the age of twenty-one years, and who would not be entitled to receive from the county court a license to remain in this State, if they were twenty-one years old, shall not be bound out as apprentices in this State.

Approved February 16, 1847.

The prohibition of education was typical of southern states at the time. Like Missouri, most southern states passed laws that banned the education of African Americans in the first half of the nineteenth century.[18] Often, those laws applied to all African Americans, enslaved or free, since many southern whites believed that free blacks were even more likely to lead insurrections than were enslaved persons. Arkansas, for example, began barring the immigration of free blacks into the state in 1843, and later prohibited any free African American adult from living in the state.[19] Missouri began that process even earlier, with restrictions on the immigration of free blacks that began in 1825 and increased regularly over the next three decades.[20]

Much of that legislation reflected regional changes in attitudes. As noted in *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861,* white opinions about education of enslaved persons evolved over the years. Before the mid-1830s, most slaveholders believed it made sense to educate enslaved persons, and it was sometimes even seen as a way to increase their value. Those beliefs gradually changed, however, as slavery in general became more economically beneficial and at the same time more controversial. The rise of the abolitionist movement in the early 1800s had encouraged numerous small insurrections, and slaveholders came to believe that "it was impossible to educate the minds of Negroes without arousing overmuch self-assertion," which would in turn lead to outright revolt.[21]

Northerners, by contrast, tended to encourage the education of African Americans, although they generally felt that education should take place in separate schools, and only a few states in New England allowed them to attend public schools. It has been noted that many northerners saw African American education more as a means of social control than an expression of equality between the races.[22] Northern states all experienced an influx of African Americans as the century progressed and conditions degenerated in the South, spurring a range of attitudes and proposals about assimilating the new residents into northern society. Many saw education as an essential way to help the growing free black population of the north become productive members of society.[23]

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[18] C. G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861,* 2nd ed. (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1919), 66. Exceptions to that trend included Kentucky and Tennessee, who passed restrictions the movement of enslaved persons at early dates but did not expressly make it illegal to teach them to read and write.; William L. Joyce, comp., *Education of Negros in Ante-Bellum America* (An Arbor: University of Michigan, 1969), 15.
[19] "Slave Codes, "The Encyclopedia of Arkansas History & Culture, accessed June 30, 2017. http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?search=1&entryID=5054.
[20] Parrish, *History of Missouri, Vol. III 1860-1875*, 145.
[21] Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, 2.
[22] Joyce, *Education of Negroes in Ante-Bellum America*, 14.
[23] Joyce, *Education of Negroes in Ante-Bellum America*, 14.

Some of those differences in attitude between north to south were also affected by regional differences in educational systems. Most northern states were developing publicly funded school systems which often surpassed private schools in quality and number. That situation led to a generally more educated populace, which tended to value education. The south, by contrast, had few to no public school systems of any kind until after the Civil War, and even white southerners tended to be uneducated, especially if they were of limited financial means.[24] As one author described antebellum education in the south, "Only those who could afford tutors or private schools received formal education."[25]

Public school options in Missouri fell somewhere in the middle. Although the state constitution of 1820 called for the creation of public school system, it included few guidelines and no mechanism for funding schools.[26] After several false starts, the passage of the Geyer Act in 1839 laid the foundation for a public school system in the state, but questions of how to fund it persisted, and development was slow. After the prohibition of teaching African Americans was enacted in 1847, public schools were available only to white students. The onset of the Civil War reversed what little progress had been made, and one author noted that the school system "collapsed almost entirely outside of St. Louis and some of the other larger towns" once the war began.[27]

African American Education in Missouri

The approaching war and anti-education laws did not, however, put an end to literacy for African Americans in Missouri and other slave states. As C. G. Woodson noted, "all hope was not yet gone. Certain white men in every southern community made it possible for many of them to learn in spite of the opposition."[28] As Woodson saw it, the laws were not enacted to keep what he called "discreet" southerners from doing as they pleased, but rather, to keep southern slaves away from northern abolitionists, who would be likely to "teach their slaves principles subversive of southern institutions."[29]

As a result, while African American literacy in slave states was extremely low by the middle of the century, it did not disappear completely, especially among free blacks. Census records indicate that in 1850 well over half of the 2,618 free blacks in Missouri could read, and that percentage appears to have increased by 1860.[30] Additionally, even though teaching African

[24] Joyce, *Education of Negroes in Ante-Bellum America,* 15.
[25] Joyce, *Education of Negroes in Ante-Bellum America,* 15.
[26] Perry McCandless, *History of Missouri, Volume II 1820 to 1860* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri, 2000), 191.
[27] Parrish, *History of Missouri, Vol. III: 1860-1875*, 145.
[28] Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, 13.
[29] Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, 13.
[30] Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, 237.

Americans was illegal in Missouri after 1847, census records still documented a handful of free blacks attending school in the state in 1850 and 1860. That included 40 free blacks in 1850, and 155 in 1860.[31] Those numbers are low, but still better than those of Arkansas, which had only eleven African Americans attending school in 1850 and a mere five in 1860. [32]

It is likely that the Missouri students recorded in the census were from St. Louis, which routinely had a larger number of free blacks than the rest of the state.[33] Some of them may have been students of John Berry Meachum, a former slave who began operating a barrel factory in St. Louis in the 1820s. (See Figure 4.) Meachum was also an ordained minister and teacher, and an early advocate of education for African Americans. One description of his activities noted that "he constantly encouraged his African American students to view education as the key to success as freedmen."[34] After the 1847 law went into effect, he continued to teach free and enslaved blacks, at first by using Sunday school as a cover story. When that tactic was discovered, he came up with an ingenious work-around. He purchased a boat and outfitted it with a library, then anchored it in the center of the Mississippi River. The river was subject to federal law rather than that of the state. Meachum taught students on that floating school until his death in the 1850s, and his school became "famous throughout the nation."[35]

Figure 4. John Berry Meachum.

By Public Domain - www. Blackpast.org, Public Domain, August 3, 2017, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=45184858

[31] Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, 237 and 239.
[32] Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, 239.
[33] Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage*, 73.
[34] Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage,* 67.
[35] Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage,* 67.

Educational opportunities for blacks in St. Louis were not, however, typical of the rest of the state. St. Louis was home to nearly half of all free blacks in Missouri in the 1860s, and many whites in the city were not hard core proponents of slavery.[36] Rural areas of the state had much lower percentages of free blacks, and generally more restrictive views on education and other civil rights for African Americans.

A collection of interviews with former slaves that were conducted for the WPA in the 1930s gives valuable firsthand evidence of the varying conditions and attitudes about education that enslaved persons encountered in Missouri in the years leading up to the Civil War. The written transcripts of those interviews, often referred to as the slave narratives collection, remain on file at the Library of Congress. Transcripts of interviews conducted in Missouri show that enslaved persons encountered a wide range of living conditions and treatment by whites. Although the interviews were conducted and transcribed by mostly white workers and cannot be taken purely at face value, they still offer an interesting link to a side of history for which we have little primary documentation—the view of the enslaved.

Many of those interviewed recalled interactions related to education. Louis Hamilton, who was interviewed in Cape Girardeau County at the age of 90, for example, remembered that while he and his family were allowed to go to church occasionally, school was out of the question. "We dassen't be ketched wid a book to read or to try to be educated."[37] (The narratives were typed by interviewers, who attempted to record dialect, that they were likely also edited for content; they have been repeated verbatim here.) Peter Corn, of Herculaneum, had similar memories: "the colored people didn't know A from B and wasn't allowed to learn to read. If my master or mistress would see me readin' a paper dey would come up and say 'What you know about reading a paper? Throw dat down.' Dis was done to keep us from learnin' to read anything."[38] The fact that he was reading a paper in that story indicates that he had picked up some reading skills here and there in spite of his master's attitude. Betty Brown, who had been enslaved in Arkansas, also recalled that the whites in some areas were no more educated than enslaved person, and noted that neither her family or nearby whites ever attended church or school.[39]

The slave narratives include stories of more supportive slaveholders as well. Smoky Eulenberg, who was born in 1854 near Jackson, Missouri, told interviewers that "We didn't have no school. A woman come and stay all year round just to teach little Miss Lucy and she

[36] Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage,* 69.
[37] Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938, preparers and comp., *Missouri Slave Narratives, Folk History of Slavery in Missouri from Interviews with Former Slaves* (Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1938), 157.
[38] Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938, *Missouri Slave Narratives,* 86.
[39] Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938, *Missouri Slave Narratives,* 53.

taught some of de cullud children to read and write.[40] That practice of sharing a tutor with white children was not unique, and in some cases, the white children themselves served as tutors. Lucinda Patterson recounted stories her father, a former slave, had told her about being taught to read by white children in a basement. Another man recalled that while his master would not allow him to have books, the master's son "would steal a book and when dey was in de mines working…would go off on one side of de mine and dere learn to read."[41]

Several former slaves also noted that once one enslaved persons learned to read, the knowledge was often shared with other members of the household. Henry Clay Bruce, who spent time enslaved in Missouri, recalled that education was a family affair; his mother instructed each of her children to teach a younger sibling to read.[42] Bruce also stated that Missouri slaveholders seemed to be more permissive than those of other states: "Slavery in some portions of Missouri was not what it was in Virginia or the extreme South, because we could buy any book we wanted if we had the money to pay for it and the masters seemed not to care about it, especially ours, but of course there were exceptions to the rule."[43]

Slaveholders who chose to educate those under their control in spite of the law did so for a variety of reasons, including simple efficiency; an enslaved person who could read and write could perform more advanced tasks than one who was illiterate. Additionally, many slaveholders considered teaching slaves to read to be a requisite part of religious training, to allow for bible study. One author even noted that "it was observed that the most loyal and subordinate slaves were those who could read the Bible and learn the truth for themselves."[44] As a result, many enslaved persons received their only education at Sunday school or church, which also frequently doubled as their only opportunities to congregate with other African Americans.

Religion

Enslaved persons had more access to religion than to education. Since the law of 1847 required that any "meeting or assemblage of negroes or mulattoes, for the purpose of religious worship, or preaching" had to be overseen by a white official, there were very few organized black churches before the Civil War. [45] Almost all of those that were in place were

[40] Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938, *Missouri Slave Narratives,* 110-11.
[41] Diane Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Border, Missouri's Small-Slaveholding Households, 1815-1865* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 260.
[42] McCandless, *History of Missouri, Volume II 1820 to 1860,* 196.
[43] Burke, *On Slavery's Border*, 269.
[44] Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, 14.
[45] McCandless, *History of Missouri, Volume II 1820 to 1860,* 212.

located in St. Louis and other major cities.[46] In southwest Missouri and other rural areas, black access to religious training was generally dependent upon the attitudes of their masters. Many former slaves in Missouri recalled that their slaveholders encouraged them to attend church, and many churches held services for both blacks and whites, often at the same time. While some slaveholders no doubt made religion available out of the kindness of their hearts, others saw it as one more means of preventing unrest. W. C. Parson Allen, who grew up on a large plantation in Scott County recalled that "In church we sat on one side and de whites on de other. De white preacher always read a special text to the darkies, and it was this, 'Servants, obey your master.'"[47]

Whatever the reasoning behind their attendance, church services provided cherished opportunities for interacting with other African Americans. Burke noted that "Slaves enjoyed socializing with one another whether or not they embraced their owners' theology. Former slaves repeatedly recalled seeing friends and relatives at church."[48] For many, regular attendance at church provided a chance to socialize with other African-Americans, something that many historians have noted was lacking on the type of small farms that covered much of the state before the war. That lack has often been cited as one of the few disadvantages of being enslaved on smaller farms versus large plantations.

Farm vs. Plantation: the Demographics of Slavery in Missouri

Attitudes about slavery and the treatment of enslaved persons often varied depending on the amount of land a person owned. One comprehensive study of the WPA slave narratives identified farm size as one the major determinants of how enslaved persons attached to those properties were treated. Numerous historians have observed that slaves on small farms tended to be treated better than those who lived on large plantations. [49]

It is harder to think of a person as "property" when you spend extended amounts of time with them. On small farms, including the one where George Washington Carver was born, slaveholders often worked side by side with their laborers on a daily basis, a practice which generally led to better relationships between slaveholders and the people under their control. Historian Lori Peterson noted in a study of slavery in southwest Missouri that situations in

[46] Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage,* 69.
[47] Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938, *Missouri Slave Narratives,* 18.
[48] Burke, *On Slavery's Border*, 249.
[49] Burke, *On Slavery's Border*, 14.

which the landowners worked more closely with the enslaved were apt to result in "better treatment" for the workers.[50]

Peterson's study of farms in the area of Carver's first home documented a strong pattern of small scale farming, and a tendency for individual families to have lower incomes and no more than a few slaves. A look at early patterns of development in Missouri shows that that was the case in much of the state, and especially in southern Missouri. There were some large early plantations, but most of those were located close to major rivers, which doubled as the primary means of transportation in the early 1800s. Although there had been some early thoughts that Missouri would develop into a new cotton belt filled with large plantations, most of the state was too far north for that crop, and cotton was grown only in a few areas in the southern part of the state.[51] Limited transportation networks also constrained the economic viability of crops such as hemp, which could be grown in Missouri, but needed to be shipped elsewhere for sale. As a result, the counties bordering the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers became early centers for growth and large scale agriculture, while much of the remainder of the state was divided into smaller subsistence-level farms.

Smaller farms naturally required smaller workforces, and counties filled with small farms had fewer slaves per household, as well as fewer enslaved persons overall. This was especially true in the Ozarks of southern Missouri and northern Arkansas, where farm size was further restricted by hilly terrain and lack of access to transportation networks. Census records show that in 1860, few counties in the Ozarks region of either state had a slave population of more than 10%, while slave populations in counties that bordered major rivers were markedly larger. (Figure 5.) In southwest Missouri, the slave populations of most counties were under 5%, and Peterson's study of four southwest Missouri counties showed that more than half of the slaveholders in that area owned only one slave each.[52] George Washington Carver's childhood home of Newton County was included in Peterson's study.

[50] Lori Peterson, "A Study of African-American Culture in Southwest Missouri in Relation to the George Washington Carver National Monument" (National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, NE: 1995), 16.

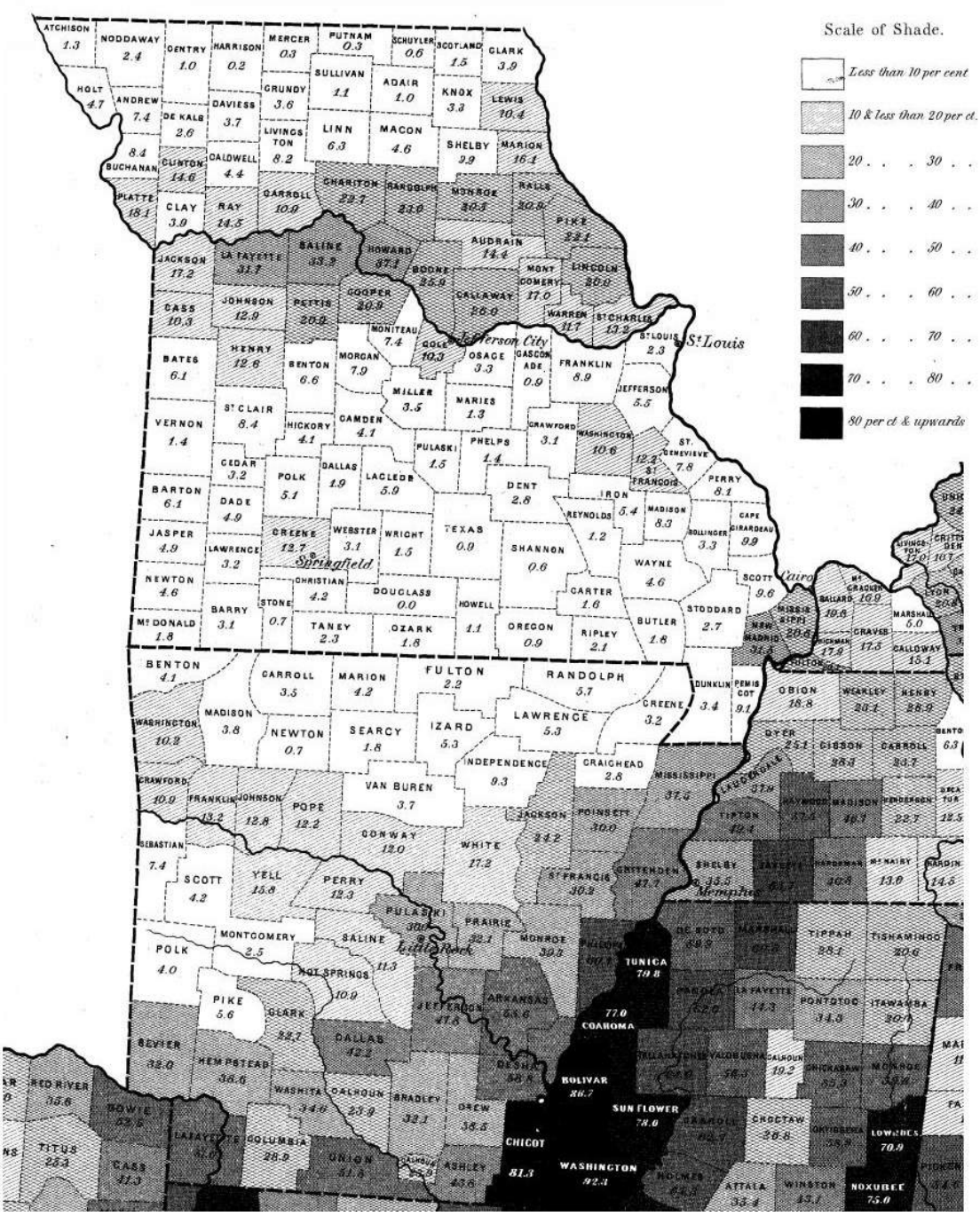
[51] Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage,* 23.

[52] Peterson, "A Study of African-American Culture in Southwest Missouri," 16. Peterson's study concentrated on the counties of Barton, Jasper, Newton and McDonald Counties which line the southern end of the Missouri-Kansas border.

Figure 5. 1861 Map of slaveholding households in Missouri and Arkansas.

(Note: Figure 6 gives this information for all southern states.)

E. Hergesheimer, Map showing the distribution of the slave population of the southern states of the United States Compiled from the census of 1860. Washington. Henry S. Graham, 1861. Map. Retrieved from the Library of Congress August 18, 2017, https://www.loc.gov/item/ody0314/.



s,

On small farms that had few slaves, everyone interacted more frequently. While a major plantation might have hundreds of slaves who spent their days in the fields under the supervision of an overseer, slaves on more modest farms often worked directly with the landowners. A study of slavery in Yell County Arkansas, for example, profiled the farm of the Banks family, who operated their farm with the help of just one family of four slaves (two were children). The author noted that on the Banks' farm "the white and black families worked together, went hunting together, and lived in adjoining log cabins."[53] Many of the slaves interviewed by the WPA also recalled life on small farms, including Henry Dent, who told the interviewer that the "only slaves Mr. Kendrick had was my mother, brother, sister, and myself…We was treated fair when we behaved ourselves, but we had to be straightened out sometimes but were not mistreated."[54]

Moses and Susan Carver of Newton County were also small scale slaveholders. They purchased George Washington Carver's mother Mary when she was 13, and she and her two sons were the only slaves they ever held.[55] Both boys were born after Mary came to live on the farm, and George's father was enslaved on a nearby farm.[56] Carver later recalled that because he was somewhat sickly as a child, he often worked in the house with Susan Carver, while his more robust brother James worked in the fields with Moses Carver. By most accounts, the Carvers treated them well, and they maintained a good relationship with George and his brother after the war ended. Carver later wrote that "Mr. and Mrs. Carver were very kind to me and I thank them so much for my home training."[57]

Because life on a small farm required much multi-tasking, enslaved persons living on farms tended to have more diverse skill sets than those on plantations. That tendency was strengthened by the regular practice of "hiring out" enslaved persons to work elsewhere when their labor was not needed on the home farm. Mary A. Bell recalled that "Slavery was a hard life. Kitty Diggs hired me out to a Presbyterian minister when I was seven years old, to take care of three children."[58] It was also common for older, more skilled slaves to be hired out. William Wells Brown recalled being leased to a number of different business owners in St. Louis in the years before the war, and historian Dianne Mutti Burke noted that since skilled

[53] John Solomon Otto, "Slavery in the Mountains: Yell County, Arkansas, 1840-1860," *The Arkansas Quarterly* XXXIX (1980): *52.*
[54] Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938, *Missouri Slave Narratives,* 98.
[55] Note that George may have been born just after the end of slavery in Missouri, and was therefore never technically enslaved.
[56] Gart, *He Shall Direct Thy Paths: The Early Life of George W. Carver,* 21-25. Jim is believed to have had a different father, who had not been identified.
[57] An autobiographical sketch by George Washington Carver, ca. 1897. Reprinted in Kremer, *George Washington Carver in His Own Words,* 21.
[58] Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938, *Missouri Slave Narratives,* 27-28.

workers commanded higher hiring and sale rates, "owners frequently hired their slaves to local artisans with the understanding they would be taught a trade."[59]

That type of diverse work experience later proved to be beneficial for those who had been hired out. As Lori Peterson observed, "Trained in slavery to perform a number of tasks, Ozark slaves were far more likely to develop careers as craftsmen and artisans than plantation slaves."[60] Those work patterns continued after the war, to the benefit of George Washington Carver, who later used the housekeeping skills he learned from Susan Carver to support himself as he traveled from town to town in search of an education.

While the types of closer relationships engendered by life on a small farm undoubtedly contributed to better working conditions for many Missouri slaves, it has also been pointed out that such conditions could leave enslaved persons even more at the mercy of cruel slaveholders. For Harriet Casey, who was born on "the Hill place" in Farmington, being enslaved on a small farm did not result in kinder treatment: "Our home was not pleasant. The mistress was cruel."[61] Casey recalled that although the mistress had a full smokehouse and a springhouse full of butter, "To eat we had cornmeal and fried meat that had been eaten by bugs…We had some gravy and all ate 'round de pans like pigs eating slop."[62]

Bleeding Kansas

Although the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was intended to end discussion about which parts of the United States would allow slavery, by the 1850s, continued expansion of the western frontier returned that question to the forefront. By that time, the lands directly west of Missouri, which the U. S. government deemed to be Indian Territory, were being opened to white settlement. Efforts to organize the lands into the Nebraska and Kansas Territories spurred a fierce new debate on the issue of slavery, throughout Missouri and the rest of the country.[63] Arguments were made that instead of adhering to the Missouri Compromise and making slavery illegal in the new territories, residents of those lands should have the right to vote if they wanted to enter the Union as free or slave states.[64]

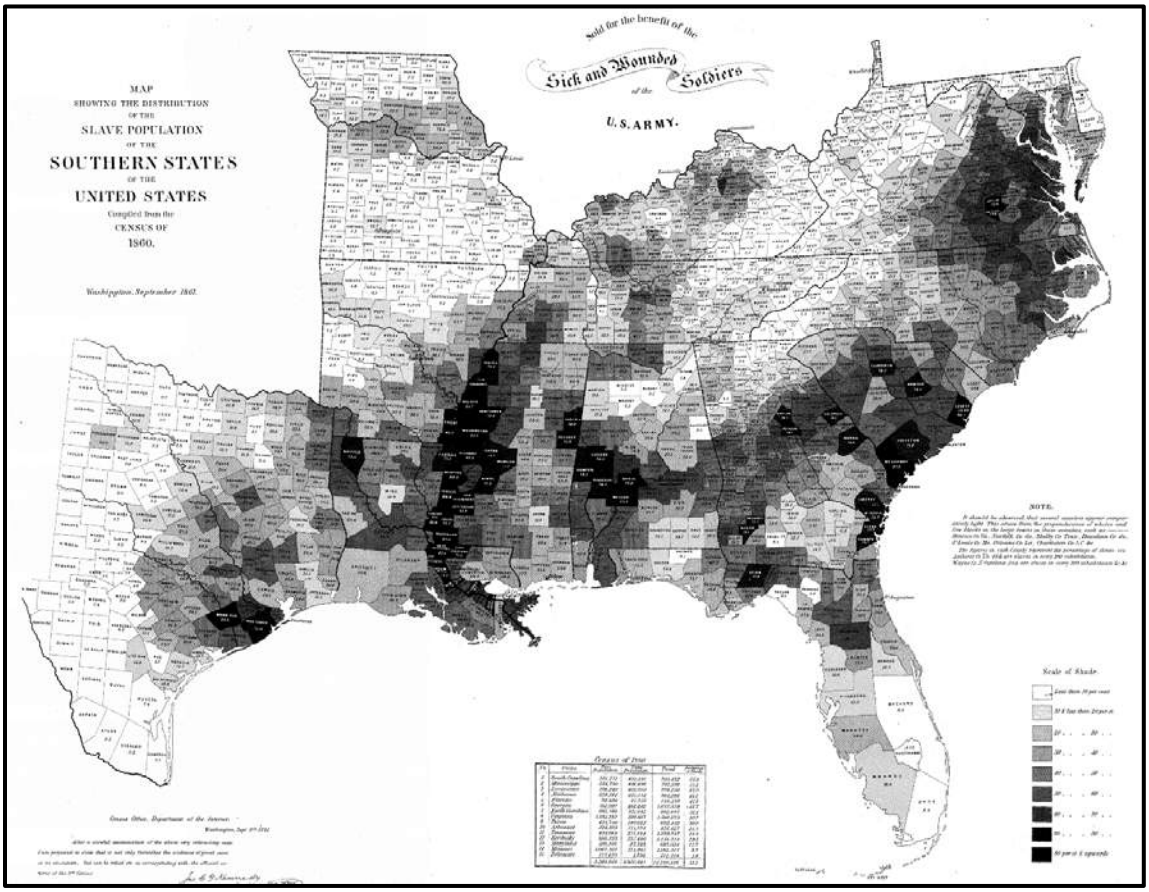
While the possibility of adding two new free states naturally had many of the same national ramifications that spurred the Missouri Compromise, Missouri slaveholders also saw it as a specific threat to the existence of slavery in their state. Missouri's northern location had

[59] Burke, *On Slavery's Border,* 109.
[60] Peterson, "A Study of African-American Culture in Southwest Missouri," 40.
[61] Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938, *Missouri Slave Narratives,* 73.
[62] Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938, *Missouri Slave Narratives,* 73.
[63] McCandless, *History of Missouri, Volume II 1820 to 1860,* 262-265.
[64] McClure, *History of Missouri,* 129.

resulted in it becoming what one author described as "a slave-holding peninsula jutting up into a sea of free soil," with slave territory located only to the south.[65] No part of the state was more than 150 miles from free or neutral territory. (See Figure 6. Map of the Slave Population of the Southern States, 1861.) Additionally the state had two major rivers, a growing railroad network, and active arms of the Underground Railroad, all of which offered escaped slaves a path to freedom. As a result, slave escapes were common, and by the 1850s, many slaveholders in Missouri were expressing outrage at the continued loss of "slave property."[66] It is not surprising, then, that the prospect of two more free states along their western boundary outraged pro-slavery factions. One pro-slavery legislator declared that "I would sooner see the whole of Nebraska in the bottom of hell than see it a free state."[67]

Figure 6. 1861 Map of slaveholding households in the Southern States.

E. Hergesheimer, Map showing the distribution of the slave population of the southern states of the United States Compiled from the census of 1860. Washington Henry S. Graham, 1861. Map. Retrieved from the Library of Congress August 18, 2017, https://www.loc.gov/item/ody0314/.



[65] Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri 1804-1865*, 173.
[66] Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri 1804-1865*, 185.
[67] U. S. Senator from Missouri, David R. Atchinson, quoted in Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri 1804-1865*, 187.

In the end, proponents of slavery were successful, and in 1854, the U. S. Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which nullified the Missouri Compromise and decreed that the question of whether a slavery would be legal in a new state would be left to the voters of that territory. That decision spawned a multi-year spate of violence along the Missouri-Kansas border that came to be known as Bleeding Kansas. Supporters of both sides of the slavery issue streamed into the Kansas Territory to be on hand for any upcoming vote on slavery, and violence escalated.

Jayhawkers and Bushwhackers

Anti-slavery guerrilla fighters who came to be known as Jayhawkers, and pro-slavery Bushwhackers spent years raiding the territory along both sides of the border. In the 1850s, pro-slavery guerillas attacked Kansas settlements, and the vehement abolitionist John Brown countered with the murders of pro-slavery settlers in Kansas. Those events were followed by years of Jayhawker raids into Missouri, and Bushwhacker raids into Kansas, which terrorized residents on both sides of the border, but did little to settle the issue of slavery. The ultimate admission of Kansas as a free state on January 29, 1861 failed to quell the violence along the border, or to settle the national debate on slavery. [68] Just a few months later, on April 12, 1861, the issue of slavery led to the Civil War. [69]

Civil War in Missouri

In spite of its status as a slave state, Missouri remained loyal to the Union. In a statewide referendum on the matter of secession, votes for "Conditional or Constitutional Unionists" and "Unconditional Unionists" outnumbered those for "States' Rights" or "Anti-Submission men" by some 80,000 votes. That wide margin in a state that had embraced slavery for some forty years has been credited at least in part to changing demographics. For one thing, the state had seen a 75% increase in population in a decade, and most of those new residents were white. By 1860, enslaved persons accounted for only 10% of the population in the state, down from a high of 18% in 1830.[70] (See Figure 7.) And, many of the white residents were German and Irish immigrants, who tended to be antislavery, (and ironically, anti-black).

Additionally, slavery never became the lynchpin of the Missouri economy that it had in many southern states. With the exception of a few counties bordering the great rivers, Missouri had developed as a land of modest farms, with small numbers of enslaved persons per farm. In 1860, there were 24,320 slaveholders in Missouri, but only 49 of them held more than 40

[68] Gart, *He Shall Direct Thy Paths: The Early Life of George W. Carver,* 31.
[69] Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage,* 75.
[70] McCandless, *History of Missouri, Volume II 1820 to 1860*, 7, and Burke, *On Slavery's Border,* 309.

slaves. 20% of them held only one, and 75% had less than 5.[71] Those numbers were even lower in the Ozarks, where the population of most counties was less than 5% enslaved persons.[72] (See Figure 5 above.) The overall economy of the state was also changing. The westward advance of railroad lines provided alternates to river transportation and growing access to eastern markets, and it was in the state's economic interest to maintain good relations with those areas.

Figure 7. Missouri Population 1810-1870.

Diane Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Border, Missouri's Small-Slaveholding Households, 1815-1865,* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010, 309.

Census year	*Whites*	*Free blacks*	*Slaves*	*Total population*	*Slaves as percentage of total population*
1810	16,303	605	2,875	19,783	15%
1820	56,017	347	10,222	66,586	15%
1830	114,795	569	25,091	140,455	18%
1840	323,888	1,574	58,240	383,702	15%
1850	592,004	2,618	87,422	682,044	13%
1860	1,063,489	3,572	114,931	1,182,012	10%

One unusual argument in favor of staying in the Union came from pro-slavery groups, who argued that secession would make it even more difficult to control freedom-seeking slaves, as the state would be nearly surrounded by hostile free states.[73] As it turned out, Missouri's decision to remain loyal to the Union did indeed prolong the institution of slavery in the state. When Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in late 1862, he could not afford to alienate slaveholding states that were loyal to the Union, and that famous document freed only the slaves in rebel territory.[74] As a result, slavery became illegal in neighboring Arkansas when the Proclamation went into effect on January 1, 1863, but remained the law of

[71] McCandless, *History of Missouri, Volume II 1820 to 1860*, 7.
[72] "Map Showing the Distribution of the Slave Population of the Southern States of the United States," Washington, Sept. 1861, accessed Aug. 18, 2017, https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3861e.cw0013200/.
[73] McCandless, *History of Missouri, Volume II 1820 to 1860,* 8.
[74] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877,* Updated Edition, (New York, NY: HarperPerennial, Modern Classics, 2014), 1.

the land in Missouri. Missouri had gone from being a "peninsula of slave territory" to an island.

The End of Slavery in Missouri

The State of Missouri abolished slavery before the official end of the Civil War. Statewide sentiments opposing slavery had been steadily increasing throughout the war, and by 1864 a majority of voters were in favor of emancipation. In November 1864, the Radical Republican party, which strongly opposed slavery in the state, gained a large majority during the elections, and soon after called for a constitutional convention.[75] On January 11, 1865 delegates at the convention passed an ordinance that immediately abolished slavery in Missouri.[76]

The Missouri delegates just beat out the United States Senate, which on January 31, 1865, approved the Thirteenth Amendment to end slavery throughout the country.[77] The Civil War continued for only a short time after that. General Lee surrendered to General Grant at Appomattox Courthouse on April 9, 1865, and the nation soon turned to the monumental task of repairing and rebuilding the Union.[78]

Figure 8. Enslaved People who had just escaped from a Virginia Plantation in 1862.
Library of Congress image, reprinted in "Lynching in America, Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror." 3rd ed. Equal Justice Initiative, 2017. Accessed Aug. 7, 2017. https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/report/.

[75] McClure, *History of Missouri,* 140.
[76] Parrish, *History of Missouri, Vol. III 1860-1875*, 116.
[77] Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877,* 66.
[78] Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877,* 73.

Recommended Reading on the Subject of Slavery in Missouri

Alvarez, Stacy. "Special History Study: Significance of the 1872 Neosho 'Colored School', Neosho, Missouri," Report on file with the George Washington Carver National Monument, Diamond, MO, 2005.

Burke, Diane Mutti. *On Slavery's Border, Missouri's Small-Slaveholding Households, 1815-1865*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2010.

Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938, preparers and comp. *Missouri Slave Narratives, Folk History of Slavery in Missouri from Interviews with Former Slaves*. Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1938.

Woodson, C. G. *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*. 2nd ed. Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1919. (Available through Google Books.)

Timeline of Major Events 1821-1865

1821 August 10. Missouri declared a state. Missouri entered the union as a slave state and Maine entered as a free state to preserve balance of free and slave.[79] The state immediately enacted a series of slave codes patterned after those of Virginia.

1839 Public school system authorized in Missouri, but funding was uncertain and it was slow to get started.[80]

1847 The Missouri General Assembly passed an act stating that "No person shall keep or teach any school for the instruction of negroes or mulattos, in reading or writing, in this State." [81]

1854, May 30. Kansas Nebraska-Act passed.[82]

1861, May 9. Civil War begins.

1863, Jan. 1. Abraham Lincoln signs the Emancipation Proclamation which freed more than three million men, women, and children in rebel territory, which included Arkansas. That

[79] Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage,* 22-23.
[80] McCandless, *History of Missouri, Volume II 1820 to 1860*, 45.
[81] "Missouri State Archives, Missouri's Early Slave Laws: A History in Documents: Abolitionists," Missouri Digital Heritage, accessed June 28, 2017, http://www.sos.mo.gov/archives/education/aahi/earlyslavelaws/slavelaws.
[82] Gart, *He Shall Direct Thy Paths: The Early Life of George W. Carver,* 30.

document did not however, apply to border states that remained loyal to the Union, including Missouri.[83]

1864 or 1865 George Washington Carver was born on the Moses Carver farm in Diamond, Newton County, MO. Although the exact date of his birth is unknown, recent studies indicate that it was either 1864 or 1865.[84]

1865, January 11. Slavery in Missouri abolished during a state constitutional convention.[85]

1865, January 31. U. S. Senate approves the Thirteenth Amendment, to end slavery throughout the country. The Amendment was officially ratified in December, 1865.[86]

1865, April 9. Lee surrenders to Grant and ends the Civil War.[87]

[83] Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877,* 1.
[84] Gart, *He Shall Direct Thy Paths: The Early Life of George W. Carver,* 25-26.
[85] Parrish, *History of Missouri, Vol. III 1860-1875*, 116.
[86] Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877,* 66; "Lynching in America, Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror," 3rd ed., Equal Justice Initiative, 2017, 6, accessed Aug. 7, 2017, https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/report/.
[87] Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877,* 73.

B. Civil Rights from Reconstruction to Jim Crow: 1865-1900

George Washington Carver came of age in an era of great change for African Americans. He was born about the time the Civil War ended, and he spent his early childhood on an isolated farm in rural Newton County.[1] Around the middle of 1876, at the age of 11 or 12, he moved into Neosho specifically to attend a "Colored School" there, and in 1878, he moved to Kansas in search of better schools. Those moves were the first of many that he made over the next two decades, as he traveled from town to town and state to state in search of better educational opportunities. Carver's personal search for education and basic civil rights took place during a period of sweeping national changes in civil rights. The years immediately following the war were marked with a flurry of federal actions meant to establish basic civil rights for African Americans during the period known as Reconstruction. Those early successes were followed by decades of setbacks, with restrictive new state laws and escalating incidents of racial violence. Through it all, young George Washington Carver doggedly pursued an education.

Overview of Reconstruction

The Civil War brought freedom to some four million African Americans, and began a long and often divisive national discussion of civil rights that has continued into the twenty-first century. As one history of the era noted, during Reconstruction, "Americans destroyed slavery and struggled earnestly—if not always successfully—to build a nation of free and equal citizens."[2] The exact years of the Reconstruction era vary somewhat according to the particular historian discussing the movement, but in general, Reconstruction began in 1861 with the start of the Civil War, and ended around 1900.[3]

The early years of Reconstruction saw a series of new federal laws that increased legal rights for African Americans, including a federal Civil Rights Act and three Constitutional Amendments. As had been the case before the war, the Republican Party led the charge to improve the lives of African Americans. Republicans often faced strong opposition from the Democratic Party, which was entrenched in the former Confederate states. In the 1870s and 1880s, economic issues and changes in the political climate brought reversal of some of that early progress, as well as an increase in racial tensions in the South. By the 1880s and 1890s, the Republican Party had little power, and according to many historians, little desire, to

[1] Anna Toogood, *Historic Resource Study and Administrative History: George Washington Carver National Monument, Diamond, Missouri,* (National Park Service, Denver, Colorado, July 1973) 17-21. Note that scholars and even Carver himself have postulated various dates for Carver's birth, ranging from 1860 to 1865. Toogood's estimation of 1864 or 1865 is well-reasoned and supported by later research done by Jason Gart in *He Shall Direct Thy Paths: The Early Life of George W. Carver,* Historic Resource Study, George Washington Carver National Monument, Diamond, Missouri, (National Park Service, U.S Department of the Interior, 2014) 25-26.
[2] Gregory P. Downs and Kate Masur, *The Era of Reconstruction, 1861-1900: A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study,* (U. S. Department of the Interior, Washington DC, 2017), 2.
[3] Downs and Masur, *The Era of Reconstruction, 2.*

continue the battle for African Americans' civil rights. In 1896, a Supreme Court decision in the case of *Plessy v Ferguson*, legalized the concept of "separate but equal" facilities.[4] That decision legitimized segregation and discriminatory legislation and ushered in the Jim Crow era of the early twentieth century.

Freedom

Emancipation came to the enslaved of the country in waves. The Emancipation Proclamation that went into effect on January 1, 1864 freed all enslaved persons in Confederate states, but excluded those in states that were loyal to the Union. As the war progressed, tens of thousands of enslaved persons effected their own freedom, by enlisting in the Union Army or taking advantage of the chaos of war to escape to free territory. As the war wound down, some of the states that had been exempted from the Emancipation Proclamation began to pass their own state-level emancipation laws. Missouri was one of the first to do so, on January 11, 1865.[5] And finally, ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution in December, 1865, ended slavery in the United States. It is worth noting that a few states maintained a symbolic protest by refusing to ratify that amendment, sometimes for decades. Delaware waited until 1901, Kentucky until 1976, and Mississippi until 1995.[6]

Although emancipation presented a whole new set of obstacles for African Americans, it also naturally brought great joy. The institution of slavery had created a class of people who had no education and few marketable skills, and most could not even count on the support of family or social groups. But, as one description of conditions in Missouri noted, the "initial response to the ending of slavery was influenced very little by the problems that lay ahead."[7] Newly freed Blacks rejoiced across the country, including Missouri, where news of emancipation in January, 1865 filled the streets of cities with jubilant African Americans. One woman's reaction to the news was recorded by writer Laura Haviland:

> *I jump up and scream, "Glory, glory, hallelujah to Jesus! I's Free! Glory to God, you come down an' free us; no big man could do it." An' I got sort o' scared, afeared somebody might hear me, an' I takes another good look an' fall down on de ground', an roll over, and kiss de groun' fo' de Lord's sake…*[8]

Whatever the obstacles the future might bring, and there would be many, the Civil War ended slavery in the United States. Never again would it be legal to consider a human being as a piece of property.

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[4] Jerrald M. Packard, *American Nightmare: The History of Jim Crow* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 2002), 78.
[5] William Parrish, *A History of Missouri Volume III 1860 to 1875* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1973), 116.
[6] "Lynching in America, Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror," 3rd ed., Equal Justice Initiative, 2017, 6, accessed Aug. 7, 2017, https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/report/.
[7] Lorenzo J. Greene, Gary R. Kremer, and Antonio F. Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1993), 19-21.
[8] Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage,* 88.

Presidential Reconstruction: 1865-1867

With the end of the war and nationwide emancipation, President Lincoln and members of Congress were confronted with the monumental task of rebuilding a nation. They faced deep political divisions within the newly restored Union, and a southern economy that needed to be reconfigured to function without slave labor. And, the creation of four million free blacks brought with it a whole new set of issues, not the least of which was how to guarantee that they would be accorded the same rights and privileges enjoyed by whites. As one description of the period observed "Black people might be free from involuntary labor under the law but that did not mean Southern whites recognized them as fully human."[9]

Congress enacted a number of important civil rights laws in the mid-1860s. The **Thirteenth Amendment,** which abolished slavery throughout the country, was passed in January 1865, just before the official end of the war, and ratified by the end of that same year.[10] In March 1865, Congress created the National Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company (the Freedmen's Bank) to encourage economic independence. They also set up the Freedmen's Bureau, which charged the Secretary of War to "direct such issues of provisions, clothing, and fuel, as he may deem needful for the immediate and temporary shelter and supply of destitute and suffering refugees and freedmen and their wives and children…"[11] Although the bank venture had only marginal success, the Freedmen's Bureau was more impactful, and it remained active into the early 1870s.

The Freedmen's Bureau

The official title of the Freedmen's Bureau was the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, which reflects early thoughts of dividing and redistributing abandoned and confiscated Confederate lands.[12] The Freedmen's Bureau established local offices in former slave states to help ease the transition from slavery to freedom and helped thousands of African Americans before it was disbanded in 1872.[13]

Bureau representatives started arriving in Missouri in the spring of 1865.[14] Along with other benevolent organizations, they provided short term financial aid and worked on larger projects that were geared to helping African Americans become self-sufficient. Education was considered a critical component to future success, and the establishment of African American schools was a top priority for the Freedmen's Bureau. (African American education will be

[9] *Lynching in America*, 7.
[10] The Thirteenth Amendment was ratified in December, 1965.
[11] Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage,* 94; "Law Creating the Freedmen's Bureau: CHAP. XC.– An Act to establish a Bureau for the Relief of Freedmen and Refugees," Freedmen & Southern Society Project, accessed August 2017, http://www.freedmen.umd.edu/fbact.htm.
[12] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction, America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York, NY: HarperPerennial, ModernClassics, 2014*),* 69.
[13] Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage,* 94.
[14] Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage,* 94.

discussed in more depth in the following section.) Freedmen's Bureau workers also helped negotiate labor contracts to protect worker rights, and arranged formal marriages for African Americans, which had been illegal under slave laws.[15]

Creation of the Freedmen's Bureau and passage of the Thirteenth Amendment were among the last legislative actions to take place under the guidance of Abraham Lincoln. He was assassinated April 15, 1865.[16] The subsequent assumption of the presidency by Andrew Johnson brought a shift in attitude towards blacks. Johnson was a former slave-holder who did not believe African Americans were capable of taking productive roles in society. He made numerous racist statements, including proclaiming in one address to Congress that giving African Americans the vote would result in "a tyranny such as this continent has never seen."[17] As president, he granted thousands of pardons for secessionists and regularly opposed efforts to better the lives of African Americans.

Congress retained a Republican majority, however, and there was continued progress in the area of civil rights under Johnson's administration. In 1866, Congress reauthorized the Freedmen's Bureau, gave federal troops power to protect African Americans in the South, and passed the first federal civil rights law.[18] The **1866 Civil Rights Act** was titled "An Act to protect all Persons in the United States in their Civil Rights, and furnish the Means of their Vindication."[19] (See Appendix 1.) The act stipulated that "citizens of every race and color, without regard to any previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude" were to be afforded certain rights, and established federal authority to ensure compliance of the act.[20] Johnson vetoed the bill, but Congress overrode the veto, the first such override in U. S. history. The bill became law on April 9, 1866. Just a few months later, on July 9, Congress approved the **Fourteenth Amendment** to the Constitution, which declared that all persons born in the United States were citizens and gave the federal government power to overturn violations of those rights that were perpetrated by states. Final passage of The Fourteenth Amendment stalled, however, after many states refused to ratify it.

Congressional Reconstruction: 1867-1877

The Republicans' desire to help African Americans transition successfully from slavery to freedom was far from universal, and the nation saw a marked increase in racial violence under the Johnson administration. Two events that took place in 1866 were described in one history as having "foretold terrifying days to come for African Americans."[21] In May, 1866 an outbreak

[15] Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage,* 94.
[16] Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877,* 75.
[17] *Lynching in America,* 9.
[18] Downs and Masur, *The Era of Reconstruction*, 5.
[19] "Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Civil Rights (1868)," OurDocuments.Gov, accessed August 25, 2017, https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=43.
[20] "Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Civil Rights," 1868.
[21] *Lynching in America*, 9.

of racial violence in Memphis left forty-three African Americans dead, many at the hands of white policemen. White mobs took to the streets with the stated goal to "kill every Negro and drive the last one from the city," and within three days, four churches, twelve schools and nearly one hundred houses had been burned to the ground.[22] Just a few months after that incident, African Americans meeting in New Orleans to discuss the repeal of the Black Codes were met with a comparable level of violence. At the hands of white mobs, some two hundred black people were injured and as many as forty-eight were killed.[23] That event may have been even more violent, but for the presence of the federal troops who had been posted in former Confederate states to help maintain order. Those incidents were attributed by many to President Johnson's leniency with white supremacists, which General Joseph Holt wrote had "unleashed the barbarism of the rebellion in its renaissance.[24]

Those attacks, which took place just before mid-term elections of 1866, proved to be a boon to the fight for civil rights. The violence spurred national outrage outside the South, which in turn gave Republicans sweeping electoral victories and a veto-proof majority in Congress.[25] Many state governments saw similar changes in that period, including Missouri. As a state that had both Union and Confederate sympathizers during the war, Missouri was politically divided. For some Missourians, opposition to the pro-southern Conservative party was more a case of antipathy to rebels than it was a call for civil rights for blacks. That hostility was particularly strong in northern and southwest Missouri, which had been hard hit by guerrilla warfare and raiding parties from rebel troops.[26] There were many hard feelings toward Democrats in the state when it came time to set up a new government after the war, and Radical Republicans swept Missouri elections in 1864 and 1866.[27] (The term "Radicals" referred to that faction's strong opposition to slavery and secessionists.[28])

Even with a solid control of Congress and Republican majorities in many states, Republicans in Washington struggled to get enough states to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. For that bill to become law, twenty eight of the thirty seven states had to accept it. Many refused to do so, including all former Confederate states. In 1867 and 1868, federal legislators went around that stumbling block by passing a series of Military Reconstruction Acts. (The acts were also vetoed by Johnson, but he was again overruled by Congress.)[29] The Reconstruction Acts established new temporary military rule in southern states, which had been operating under provisional governments, and temporarily barred high ranking Confederates from voting. For

[22] *Lynching in America*, 9.
[23] Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877,* 263.
[24] Quoted in Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877,* 263.
[25] *Lynching in America*, 10.
[26] Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877,* 41-43.
[27] Parrish, *A History of Missouri Volume III 1860 to 1875,* 114-115, 140.
[28] Tim O'Neil, "Missouri frees slaves in 1865 as Radicals ascend, but postwar politics are tangled," *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, Jun 28, 2014, accessed August 15 2017, http://www.stltoday.com/news/local/metro/look-back-missouri-frees-slaves-in-as-radicals-ascend-but/article_0324b7a1-e290-5d16-9eed-536b4476bf01.html.
[29] *Lynching in America,* 10.

those states to regain their place in the Union, each had to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, and adopt a new constitution that would allow black men to vote.[30] That latter provision was part of a growing effort to make black male suffrage federal law.

In early 1868, Andrew Johnson's deteriorating relationship with Congress came to a head, and he was impeached. He avoided a conviction by just one vote in Congress, but the process ended his career and weakened the Radical wing of the Republican Party. In 1868, moderate Republican and famed Union General Ulysses S. Grant was elected president.[31] With Johnson out of the way and growing state compliance with the Reconstruction Acts, two more constitutional amendments became law. The Fourteenth Amendment was ratified on July 28, 1868, and on February 26, 1869, Congress passed the **Fifteenth Amendment,** which gave black men the vote.[32] (Suffrage for women of any race did not come into existence for another half century, with passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.) The Fifteenth Amendment was ratified in January of 1870.[33]

Suffrage for black men, which had begun at the state level in the late 1860s, brought a whole new group of citizens into the democratic process. As one study noted, "suddenly, a very large group of people who had never before been permitted to cast ballots or nominate candidates could participate as equals."[34] Most African Americans became Republicans, in deference to that party's past actions, and for the next several decades Republicans elected large numbers of African Americans to office. Between the end of the war and the turn of the century, some 2,000 black men held elected office at the local, state and federal levels. That number included fifteen U. S. Representatives and two U. S. Senators.[35] Missouri was well behind the curve in that respect; it was 1920 before a black man was elected to the state legislature, and 1968 before William (Bill) Lacy Clay, Sr. became the state's first African American representative in the U. S. Congress.[36]

[30] Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877,* 276-277.
[31] Downs and Masur, *The Era of Reconstruction*, 5.
[32] Transcript of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution: Civil Rights (1868), OurDocuments.Gov, accessed August 25, 2017, https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false&doc=43&page=transcript; "Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Voting Rights (1870)," OurDocuments.Gov, accessed August 5, 2017, https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false&doc=44.
[33] "Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Voting Rights," 1870.
[34] Downs and Masur, *The Era of Reconstruction*, 6.
[35] Downs and Masur, *The Era of Reconstruction*, 6.
[36] "Timeline of Missouri's African American History," Missouri Digital Heritage, accessed August 19, 2017, https://www.sos.mo.gov/mdh/curriculum/africanamerican/timeline/timeline6.

Figure 9. "First Colored Senator and Representatives," 1872.

U. S. Senator H. R. Revels, the first person on the left in the front row, is credited with establishing one of the first black-run schools in Missouri, which opened in St. Louis in 1854, and he was active in the development of other black schools in the area throughout the Civil War.

Library of Congress. Accessed August 25, 2017, http://recordsofrights.org/records/337/first-colored-senator-and-representatives, and Parrish, *History of Missouri Vol III 1860-1875*, 158-159.

Civil Rights Act of 1875

In 1870, Republicans in Congress began work on what was to be the last major legislation for civil rights to be enacted for nearly a century. The bill, which took five years to get through the process, was written to outlaw racial discrimination and to ensure equal access to public services. With its passage in February, 1875, the **Civil Rights Act of 1875** made it a crime for anyone to deny "the full and equal enjoyment of any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land or water, theaters and other places of public amusement…applicable alike to citizens of every race and color."[37] Appendix I.) By the time that legislation came up for debate in 1875, it had become common practice for white businesses in northern as well as southern states to refuse to trade with or provide services to African Americans. As African American U. S. Congressman James T. Rapier told his fellow legislators during debate on that bill:

> There is not an inn between Washington and Montgomery, a distance of more than a thousand miles, that will accommodate me to a bed or meal. Now, then, is there a man upon this floor who is so heartless, whose breast is so void of the better feelings, as to say this brutal custom needs no regulation? I hold that it does, and that Congress is the body to regulate it.[38]

There were many who did not agree with Congressman Rapier that it was the federal government's purview to regulate private businesses in that manner. That question was hotly debated long after the Civil Rights Act of 1875 became law, and the law was enforced for only a few years. In 1883, the Supreme Court ruled that it was unconstitutional because it was attempting to regulate privately owned facilities, which were not subject to federal law.[39]

Setbacks

The Supreme Court decision of 1883 was the first of many that weakened the civil rights laws passed by Congress during reconstruction, and the peaceful transition to a land without slavery that had been envisioned by many failed to materialize. White southerners in particular felt that the changes taking place were unfair, and there was a strong white backlash in many parts of the country. An article published in a Springfield, Missouri newspaper in 1870 reflects the views many whites had about the new black voters of the time: "Demagogues and office seekers who wish the negro vote will be constantly thrusting him forward into positions of prominence, no matter how offensive to the people."[40] Triumphantly titled "Another Ejectment," the article was recounting an incident in which a black city councilperson was forced to resign from an influential post on a railroad committee, after being taken "into the back room of a certain bank" by what the writer described as men

[37] Plessy vs. Ferguson, Judgement, Decided May 18, 1896, Records of the Supreme Court of the United States: Record Group 267, Plessy v. Ferguson, 163, #15248, National Archives, accessed August 9, 2017, https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false&doc=52

[38] Quoted in Packard, *American Nightmare,* 59.

[39] Packard, *American Nightmare,* 60.

[40] "Another Ejectment," *Springfield Leader* (Springfield, MO), May 3, 1870, 4.

of "genius and ability." The writer went on to state that "because this darky is a member of the city council it does not make him any more respectable—neither does it give him any more social privileges."[41] That type of interaction, and many that were much worse, became commonplace, as organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan and even members of the Democratic Party resorted to racial intimidation and violence to influence elections by keeping black voters away from the polls.[42] (Figure 10.)

As incidents of violence against African Americans increased, it became clear that, as one history put it, "the survival of the democratically elected governments of the South depended upon the federal government's willingness to protect African Americans."[43] At the same time, the Republican Party started to lose favor with voters, and with the economic depression of the 1870s, Republican legislators began to turn their attention to the economy and other issues. That was true in Missouri as well as in Washington. In 1870, the Radical Republican candidate for Governor lost to a more moderate Republican candidate, B. Gratz Brown, and in 1872, Brown was replaced by a Democrat. It was more than thirty years before another Republican served as the Governor of Missouri.[44]

Figure 10. *Visit of the Ku Klux*. 1872.

Print by Frank Bellow. Harper's Weekly 16 no. 791 (February 24, 1872): 160. Courtesy Library of Congress. (Not on bibliography) (Reprinted in Downs and Masur, *The Era of Reconstruction*, 49.)

[41] "Another Ejectment," *Springfield Leader*, 4.
[42] Downs and Masur, *The Era of Reconstruction*, 6.
[43] Downs and Masur, *The Era of Reconstruction*, 6.
[44] Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage,* 106.
[44] Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage,* 106.

Color Lines: Race Relations in the Late Nineteenth Century

As the century progressed, there was a marked increase in racist laws and practices, including many that were meant to keep blacks powerless and separated from whites. That practice is frequently referred to as **Jim Crow**, which one author defined as "the legal, quasi-legal, or customary practice of disenfranchising, physically segregating, barring, or discriminating against black Americans."[45] Another history of the era explained that "Under Jim Crow rule, all aspects of life were governed by a strict color line."[46] The term had its roots in early nineteenth century minstrel shows, which often featured white actors performing parodies of black musical traditions in blackface makeup. One of the best known minstrel performers of that era, Thomas "Daddy" Rice, portrayed a character named Jim Crow, and for reasons unknown, the name gradually came to be used in reference to racist practices.

Federal protection remained feeble, from legal as well as physical threats. Not only were federal troops pulled out of troubled areas, rulings by the Supreme Court weakened many of the federal civil rights laws that were enacted during Reconstruction. With individual southern states under Democratic leadership, many states were enacting laws of their own that limited the rights of African Americans. As historian Jerrold M. Packard observed, "Jim Crow spread like a pestilence. The virus settled in community after community, county after county, in state after state…"[47]Some southern states rewrote their entire constitutions to legalize suppression of blacks and to codify segregation.[48] Black voter suppression was common, via poll taxes, residency rules and literacy tests. The literacy tests were usually administered by whites, who would allow uneducated whites to pass, but block all black voters.[49] (Figure 11.) As a result, black participation in elections fell, and along with it the numbers of African Americans who held elective office.

As it became clear that freedom was not going to bring equality at any time soon, many African Americans began to consider leaving the south. There was some early interest in large-scale emigration to the Republic of Liberia. That interest stemmed in part from the work of a white organization known as the American Colonization Society, which had formed in 1817 to send free blacks to other countries. The American Colonization Society worked on a very small scale, by sponsoring the emigration of a hundred or so African Americans to Liberia every year, but they were ill-equipped to handle the large numbers of blacks who became interested after the war. By the summer of 1877, for example, early emigration organizer Henry Adams had collected the names of some 69,000 "men and women who wish to be colonized in Liberia or some other country."[50]

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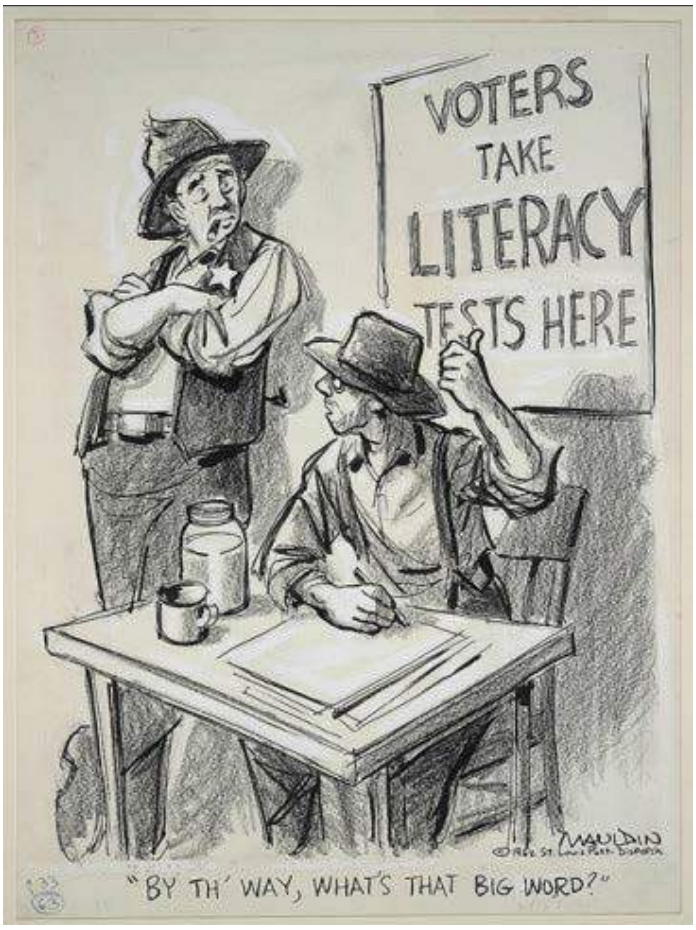
[45] Packard, *American Nightmare*, 15.
[46] *Lynching in America*, 24.
[47] Packard, *American Nightmare*, 15.
[48] *Lynching in America*, 21.
[49] Packard, *American Nightmare,* 64.
[50] Henry Adams to John B. Latrobe, president of the American Colonization Society, August 31, 1877, quoted in Nell Irvin Painter, *Exodusters, Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), 89.

Figure 11. Literacy Test.

The (Constitutional) Good. The Bad. The Ugly? Accessed August 17, 2017. http://constitutionalgoodbadandugly.blogspot.com/2014/04/15th-amendment.html.



Henry Adams was a black Union veteran who headed an African American organization that formed just after the war to study and advocate for the rights of blacks in former slave states.[51] His group, which was known at first as simply as "The Committee" eventually came to the conclusion that the only way blacks would be able to get ahead was to leave the south. He later observed that: "We felt that we had almost as well be slaves under these men…Then there was no hope for us and we had better leave."[52] A spokesman for another black group in Texas noted that "There are no words that can fully express or explain…how deeply and keenly they feel the necessity of fleeing from the wrath and long pent up hatred of their old masters…"[53] Although Adams and others ultimately decided that mass immigration to other countries was infeasible, moving to other parts of the United States was a much simpler proposition, and in the late 1870s, blacks began leaving the south by the thousands.

[51] Painter, *Exodusters*, 76-81.
[52] Henry Adams, quoted in Painter, *Exodusters*, 87.
[53] C. P. Hicks to Texas Governor St. John, July 30, 1879, quoted in Painter, *Exodusters*, 184.

The Exodus

The first large scale movement out of the south, which soon came to be known as the Exodus, or in many newspapers, the "Negro Exodus," began after the disastrous elections of 1876 that swept in a Democratic majority.[54] Kansas, the quintessential free-state, was a particularly popular destination. Relatively small numbers of African Americans from states that included Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri had been relocating to Kansas since the Civil War, and that trend continued into the 1870s. Black Missourians had been traversing their shared border since before the war began, and by 1870, a full third of the African American residents of Kansas were Missouri-born.[55]

Post-war interest in Kansas was boosted by the efforts of Benjamin "Pap" Singleton, who liked to be called "The Moses of the Colored Exodus."[56] Singleton firmly believed that the path to equality for blacks lay in the economic independence that landownership offered. When it became clear that that landownership was not an option for African Americans in most of his native Tennessee, he and his followers looked to Kansas. Black interest in Kansas had also been boosted in the late 1860s by African Americans who had jobs building railroads in Missouri, Arkansas, and Kansas.[57] Those workers sent back good reports of conditions in Kansas, the only historically free state of that trio. Singleton began leading groups of settlers to Kansas in the early 1870s, and by 1878, he had helped establish three black settlements there, which he reported had a total of more than 7,400 residents.[58] One of those settlements, Nicodemus, Kansas is one of the best-known black settlements of the era; it survives today, with a population of approximately 59. (Figure 12.) The town became a National Historic Site in 1996.[59]

Figure 12. Historic Photo of Nicodemus, Kansas.

National Park Service, *Nicodemus, National Historic Site*, accessed September 3, 2017. https://www.nps.gov/nico/index.htm.

[54] Painter, *Exodusters*, 184, and "Negro Exodus," *Coffeyville (Kansas) Weekly Journal*, Sept 27, 1879, 1.
[55] Painter, *Exodusters*, 146.
[56] Arvarh E. Strickland, "Towards the Promised Land: The Exodus to Kansas and Afterward," *Missouri Historical Review* 4 (1975): 378.
[57] Strickland, "Towards the Promised Land: The Exodus to Kansas and Afterward," 378-379.
[58] Strickland, "Towards the Promised Land: The Exodus to Kansas and Afterward," 379.
[59] *Nicodemus, National Historic Site*, National Park Service, accessed September 3, 2017. https://www.nps.gov/nico/index.htm.

By the end of the decade, the trickle of blacks leaving the south became a torrent. In 1879 alone, tens of thousands of African Americans moved from Gulf States to the middle-west, and a large number of those settlers ended up in Kansas.[60] The "Kansas Fever Exodus" of 1879, which historian Nell Irvin Painter described as the "most remarkable migration in the United States after the Civil War," brought more than six thousand African American "Exodusters" to Kansas in just a few months' time, and numerous other states saw large influxes of blacks who were seeking better living conditions.[61] It is likely that some of the early residents of Neosho were part of that movement—by 1880 the local black population had jumped from 123 to 400, and just under half of those 400 people had been born in southern states.

That mass migration was unlike anything that had happened in American history, and it spurred national attention. That attention ranged from front page newspaper articles in papers across the nation, to a whole series of Congressional hearings.[62] Republicans tended to view the movement as a testament to the lack of civil rights for southern blacks, while Democrats blamed the "interference of outsiders" for creating unjustified discontent.[63] Others viewed it in purely economic terms, as a concerning loss for the southern labor force.

In the south, many whites denied migration was a trend at all, while others were simply happy to see African Americans leave. Historian Nell Irwin Painter noted that some states were more willing to see African Americans leave than others. She noted that the "good-riddance attitude toward the Exodusters enjoyed especial popularity among whites in Texas," many of whom felt that those leaving were malcontents who "demoralized the rest of the colored people" in the state.[64] It is likely that the attitude of such Texans, paired with a notably poor rural black school system, spurred additional migration, including to southwest Missouri.[65] Census records show that there were several black families living in Neosho Township in 1870 and 1880 who had recently moved there from Texas.[66] The number of Texas-born children living in the area in 1870 and 1880 was second only to the number of native Missourians.[67]

George Washington Carver Joins the Exodus

Although it is likely that he had little direct knowledge of the issues facing southern blacks at the time, George Washington Carver became an Exoduster early in the history of the movement. Like thousands of other African Americans of the era, he was willing to leave the

[60] Strickland, "Towards the Promised Land: The Exodus to Kansas and Afterward," 378.
[61] Painter, *Exodusters*, 146, and Strickland, "Towards the Promised Land: The Exodus to Kansas and Afterward," 378.
[62] Painter, *Exodusters*, 234-255.
[63] Strickland, "Towards the Promised Land: The Exodus to Kansas and Afterward," 385.
[64] Painter, *Exodusters*, 237.
[65] Painter, *Exodusters*, 51.
[66] U. S. Population Census records, 1870 and 1880, Neosho Township, accessed June 2017, Ancestry.com. Recent moves from Texas were indicated by the birthplaces of children in the families.
[67] U. S. Population Census records, 1870 and 1880, Neosho Township, Accessed June 2017, Ancestry.com.

only home he had ever known to gain access to education and a better standard of living. Unlike most Exodusters, however, he began his travels alone at a very early age, and his prime motivation was education. While many of the African Americans who traveled to Kansas and other states in that era did so in search of land ownership and other pathways to economic independence, Carver's driving force was a desire to learn. As he later wrote, "From a child I had an inordinate desire for knowledge…"[68] To satisfy that yearning, he spent the better part of two decades traveling from town to town and state to state to access the best educational facilities that were available to an African American of limited financial means.

Carver and his older brother Jim were orphaned around the end of the Civil War, and cared for in the following years by Moses and Susan Carver. The boys grew up on the Carver farm in Diamond, a few miles north of Neosho. George Washington Carver began seeking formal education at an early age, and after being turned away from an all-white country school near the Carver farm, he decided to make a move. Around 1876, he moved alone into Neosho to attend the Neosho Colored School, which had opened there in 1872. He was just 11 or 12 years old at the time. He later wrote that "…As we lived in the country no colored schools were available so I was permitted to go 8 miles to a school in town (Neosho).[69]

Carver's move to Neosho yielded a new foster family as well as a new school. According to biographer Gary Kremer, "Carver arrived in Neosho too late to find lodging with a friendly family so he found a comfortable spot in a barn and settled in for the night. His choice of a sleeping spot was fortuitous; first the barn was practically next door to the school; second it belonged to Andrew and Mariah Watkins, a childless black couple who took in the young waif and treated him as their own."[70] Another historian noted that "when Carver arrived in Neosho, he entered a predominantly black environment for the first time and acquired his first set of black 'parents.'" [71]

Although Carver did well at the school in Neosho, he soon came to see that it offered limited opportunities for educational advancement, and in 1878, he made what appeared to be a snap decision to move elsewhere in search of better schools. Around the summer of 1878, he became part of the mass migration to Kansas, by catching a ride with a black family that was headed to Fort Scott, Kansas.[72] Carver told a later biographer that he had not been planning to go to Fort Scott, but seized the chance because "I was anxious to go anywhere that I could get better school facilities."[73] He later wrote that his time at the Neosho Colored School had

[68] George Washington Carver, Biographical Sketch written in 1897, quoted in Kremer, *George Washington Carver in His Own Words,* 20.
[69] George Washington Carver,"1897 or Thereabouts," quoted in Kremer, *In His Own Words," 21.*
[70] Kremer, *George Washington Carver in His Own Words*, 4. The Watkins family and other members of the community are discussed in more detail in Part D.
[71] Linda O. McMurry, *George Washington Carver: Scientist &* Symbol (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 20.
[72] McMurry, *George Washington Carver: Scientist & Symbol*, 21.
[73] George Washington Carver, Questionnaire completed for a biographer, July 1927, (George Washington Carver National Monument, Diamond, MO) 1.

"simply sharpened my appetite for more knowledge. I managed to secure all of my meager wardrobe from home, and when they heard from me I was cooking for a wealthy family in Fort Scott, Kans. for my board clothes and school privileges."[74]

George Washington Carver spent the next decade in Kansas. Between 1878 and 1888, he lived in seven different Kansas towns, and attended school in five of them. Those years were marked by educational advances, but also harsh encounters with racism. Up to that time, he had led a somewhat sheltered life, first on the isolated Carver farm which was owned by benevolent whites, and then as a student in the Neosho School, where he was surrounded by a supportive African American community. Aside from losing his mother during the war, the harshest treatment he had had to deal with because of his race was being refused entrance to the white country school near his first home, and even that was softened by the availability of the other school in Neosho.

That changed early in 1879, when Carver was forced to witness a brutal lynching on the streets of Fort Scott. On March 27, 1879, Bill Howard, a black man who had been accused of raping a white girl, was removed from his jail cell by an angry mob. The local paper reported that a "rope was tied around his neck and amid thundering yells and shouts…(he) was dragged by a hundred hands a distance of five blocks and hung to a lamp-post…" and then his body was burned "in a fire of dry goods boxes and coal oil."[75] Carver, who was just in his early teens at the time, came across the scene during an errand. Some sixty years later he wrote that the crowd had dragged Howard "by our house and dashed his brains onto the sidewalk. As young as I was, the horror haunted me and does even now. I left Fort Scott and went to Olathe, Kansas."[76]

The reaction of local whites to Howard's murder are nearly as disturbing as the act itself. When they learned that news of the lynching had convinced a group of four hundred Exodusters to change their plans to settle in Fort Scott, some local Democrats rejoiced, and suggested spreading word of the murder as a way to discourage other prospective black settlers. The *Fort Scott Herald* agreed with that sentiment, writing that "Kansas has an ample supply of darkies" and suggesting that circulars detailing Howard's death should be distributed throughout the south.[77]

[74] George Washington Carver, quoted in Kremer, *George Washington Carver in His Own Words*, 21.
[75] "Tremendous Tragedy: A Mad Mob Drags the Demon Down to Death," *Fort Scott Daily Monitor*, March 27, 1879, 4.
[76] George Washington Carver, 1941 or 42 notes to Rackam Holt, quoted in Fuller and Mattes, "The Early Life of George Washington Carver," 48.
[77] David J. Peavler, "Creating the Color Line and Confronting Jim Crow," 217-218.

Lynching and Racial Terrorism

The mob murder of Bill Howard and the community's response to it were part of a national increase in racial violence that began at the end of Reconstruction and continued into the twentieth century. Although the practice of vigilante "justice," and particularly lynching, had been in place since before the Civil War, by the end of the nineteenth century, it had become what one account described as "a tool of racial control that terrorized and targeted African Americans."[78] Blacks were lynched and publicly tortured for a wide range of real or perceived crimes, ranging from sexual assaults of white women to simply protesting mistreatment. Although whites were victimized as well, African Americans were much more often the victims of mob violence. Between 1889 and 1918, some 3,224 people were lynched in the United States, and more than 75% (2,522) of them were African American.[79]

Figure 13. Lynchers pose for a photo with their intended victim. (Location unknown).
"Lynching in America, Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror." 3rd ed. Equal Justice Initiative, 2017. Accessed Aug. 7, 2017. ttps://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/report/.

[78] *Lynching in America*, 27.

[79] Greene, Kremer, and Holland, M*issouri's Black Heritage,* 108; Kimberly Harper, *White Man's Heaven: The Lynching and Expulsion of Blacks in the Southern Ozarks, 1894-1909* (Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 2010), xxv. Lynching is loosely defined as an incident in which a person is killed illegally by a mob or other group for the purposes of justice or racial terror.

Although lynching was most common in the south, it happened in other parts of the country as well, including southwest Missouri and nearby states. Fort Scott victim Bill Howard was one of 19 African Americans lynched in Kansas between 1877 and 1950.[80] In Oklahoma, which saw increased black settlement after the Indian Territory was opened to settlement in the 1890s, the numbers were even higher. Some 79 people were lynched there in that same time period. Neighboring Arkansas had one of the highest rates in the country, 492. Of states outside the deep South, Missouri was second only to Oklahoma in the number of racial terror lynchings of the era; 60 African Americans were victims of lynching in Missouri between 1877 and 1950.[81]

One of the Missouri lynchings claimed the life of a young man from Neosho, Hulett Heyden, who probably attended the Neosho Colored School a few years after Carver was a student there. (Heyden was born ca. 1873, and would have been too young to be a classmate of Carver's, but the census shows that he was attending school in Neosho in 1880.) Heyden was about 21 years old in 1894, when he was arrested for allegedly shooting a man near Monett. While being transported by train to a jail in Cass County, a mob overpowered the Neosho Marshall and another man who were guarding him, and Heyden was hung from a telephone pole at the side of the tracks. A newspaper account of the lynching shows how little fear there was of reprisals for such violence: "there were from fifty to a hundred in the lynching party and none were disguised."[82]

Several of the lynchings in southwest Missouri also involved the expulsion of entire African American communities. After racial killings in Joplin, Springfield, Pierce City and Monett that took place around the turn of the century, hundreds of black Missourians were forced from their homes, sometimes permanently.[83] In the summer of 1901, for example, white mobs in nearby Pierce City reacted to the murder of a young white woman by hanging and shooting Will Godley, a black man accused of the murder, on the main street of the town. After Godley was dead, they set fire to his house and several others, which resulted in the deaths of two more African Americans, French Godley and Pete Hampton.[84] The mob was not content to leave it at that however, as the Neosho paper reported a few days later,

> *The negroes who escaped the violence of the mob, were given until dark Tuesday evening to move to more congenial climes. It is estimated that there were more than 200 members of the colored race in Pierce City Tuesday morning but the sun set on that town without a negro within its limits, with the exception of those who were dead. They left by the trains, in wagons, horseback and on*

[80] *Lynching in America*, 45.
[81] *Lynching in America*, 45. All of the state statistics cited above were listed in this document.
[82] "A Negro Lynched," *Newton County News* (Neosho, MO), July 5, 1894, 3.
[83] Harper, *White Man's Heaven, 1894-1909,* xxiv.
[84] "A Reign of Terror," *Neosho Miner and Mechanic*, August 24, 1901, 9. Seventy-five year old French Godley was Will Godley's grandfather.

> *foot, taking whatever of their property it was possible and leaving anything which would in any way prove an impediment.*[85]

An even more violent event that took place in Springfield a few year later involved lynchings of three black men in the public square, before a crowd of six thousand people. In the days that followed, black residents of the city were threatened and given "notice to leave town by a certain time," which many followed.[86] Blacks fled by the hundreds in the days after the lynching and they stayed away. One description of the lynching noted that "The Springfield black community was never the same again…by the 1980s Springfield's black population fell to less than 2 percent."[87] The change in Pierce City was equally enduring; in 2010 the city had not a single black resident.[88] Those events illustrate how much had changed since the 1870s, when one quarter of the residents of Greene County were black, and three different African American men had served on the Springfield City council.[89]

In some cases, African Americans were forced to leave their homes even if there was no crime to act as a trigger for local racists. A pair of articles published in Neosho papers in 1901show that black residents of the tiny Newton County town of Jolly were forced from their homes not long after the riots in Pierce City. In September 1901, the Neosho *Miner and Mechanic* reported that several black families from Jolly had passed through town on their way to Oklahoma, and noted that "They were engaged in farming, and were well satisfied where they were, but received a 'request' from a number of white citizens in that part of the country to vacate."[90] The article explained that the families all sold their land "at a sacrifice" and made plans to relocate. Two weeks later, a *Cassville Democrat* article reprinted in another Neosho paper made little attempt to disguise the *Democrat's* view of racial issues. The short article noted that the *Miner and Mechanic* had reported on the event and claimed that "The M. and M. seems to regret their departure. If it is so lonesome it can go with them."[91]

Mob violence and attitudes like those of the *Cassville Democrat* caused hundreds of African Americans to leave southwest Missouri at the end of the nineteenth century. Kimberly Harper, in *White Man's Heaven: The Lynching and Expulsion of Blacks in the Southern Ozarks, 1894-1909,* noted that after several such incidents of mob violence "the message was clear that blacks were not welcome in the region. African Americans left southwest Missouri and Boone County, Arkansas in significant numbers."[92] Harper noted that Newton County was one of few in the region that retained much of an African American community at all, with an African

[85] "A Reign of Terror," *Neosho Miner and Mechanic*, 9.
[86] Harper, *White Man's Heaven,* 189.
[87] Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage*, 108-109.
[88] Pierce City, City-Data.com, accessed Sept. 25, 2017, http://www.city-data.com/city/Pierce-City-Missouri.html.
[89] Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage*, 108-109.
[90] *Neosho Miner and Mechanic*, Sept. 14, 1901, 4.
[91] *Neosho Times*, Oct 1, 1901, 1. The article cited the *Cassville Democrat*.
[92] Harper, *White Man's Heaven,* 253.

American population of 318 in 1920. That was less than in earlier years; in 1880, there were approximately 400 African Americans living in Neosho Township alone.[93]

Segregation Becomes the Law of the Land

While lynching was a particularly violent expression of racism, it was certainly not the only one that was in use at the time. By the end of the nineteenth century, Jim Crow was firmly established in many parts of the country. In the years immediately following the war, many former Confederate states enacted new Black Codes that, as one historian described it "effectively resumed prewar patterns of black exclusion for the South's public life."[94] Enforced racial segregation of public facilities became common in the south and in many border states, including Missouri.[95] The practice was generally predicated on the concept that maintaining separate facilities for blacks was tantamount to equality, and therefore in keeping with federal law. Few states actually mandated segregation via legal means, but as historian Jerrold M. Packard observed, "as it spread, segregation effectively *became* the law, even if actual Jim Crow legislation itself remained rare for a while longer yet."[96] That was the case in Missouri as well. As one historical account noted, Missouri "did not pass segregation laws governing public accommodation, but custom demanded it."[97]

As the century progressed, southern states began enacting laws to codify the practice of segregation. That frequently included requiring separate facilities on public transportation, which at the time consisted primarily of streetcars and trains. Laws regulating railroad accommodations were especially popular with southern whites, who in general objected to traveling side by side with African Americans. By the early 1890s, at least eight states, including Louisiana, had passed laws requiring railroads to maintain separate cars for African Americans. From that situation came a legal challenge from a Louisiana group that would result in one of the U. S. Supreme Court's most momentous rulings in the area of civil rights, *Plessy v Ferguson*.

Plessy v Ferguson

In 1892, Homer Plessy, a native of New Orleans, joined forces with a group called the "Citizens Committee to Test the Constitutionality of the Separate Car Law" to mount a legal challenge to a Louisiana law that required railroads to maintain separate facilities for blacks and whites. They had an unusual ally in the railroad companies, who were not enthused about the expense of operating entire separate rail cars for the relatively few African Americans who could afford first class accommodations. Plessy, who appeared to be white but had one African American great-grandparent and was therefore legally black, bought a first class ticket

[93] U. S. Population Census Records, 1880, Neosho Township, accessed June 2017, Ancestry.com.
[94] Jerrold M. Packard, *American Nightmare*, 42.
[95] Jerrold M. Packard, *American Nightmare*, 63.
[96] Jerrold M. Packard, *American Nightmare*, 63.
[97] "Timeline of Missouri's African American History," Missouri Digital Heritage, accessed August 19, 2017, https://www.sos.mo.gov/mdh/curriculum/africanamerican/timeline/timeline4.

in a white car. His plan to travel in the white car violated state law, which prohibited anyone from entering "a coach or compartment to which he by race does not belong."[98] Once seated, he told the conductor (who had been informed ahead of time of the plan) that he was in fact black, and after he refused to leave the car, he was forcibly ejected and taken to jail.

Plessy was then brought before Judge John Howard Ferguson (hence the name of the court case). Plessy and his attorneys charged that the Louisiana law violated his Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendment rights, but the judge disagreed and he was found guilty as charged.[99] The group then appealed the ruling to the Louisiana Supreme Court, which agreed with Ferguson, and the case was then taken to the United States Supreme Court, which heard it in 1896.

The Supreme Court dismissed the argument that the law violated Plessy's Thirteenth Amendment rights outright, since that passage dealt with the existence of slavery only, but they did evaluate the case against the Fourteenth Amendment. In the end, seven of the eight justices hearing the case ruled against Plessy. He lost due to their opinion that the actual language of the Fourteenth Amendment did not outright forbid race-based discrimination. The law includes a passage that says "nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of the law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."[100] The justices argued that "equal protection" could be accommodated by separate facilities. That decision established the concept of **"separate but equal"** and legalized racial segregation in the United States.[101]

Although *Plessy v Ferguson* did not create Jim Crow, it did move it from the realm of custom to federal law, and it remained so for more than a half century. The ruling legalized, and in many cases encouraged, discrimination in a wide range of situations, and offered implicit if not explicit federal approval of racism. The concept of "separate but equal" was applied to everything from water fountains to public schools. Schools had already been the target of legal action by that time; many states, including Missouri, had already passed legislation to require separate school systems for blacks and whites.[102] The *Plessy* ruling gave a federal stamp of approval for that practice, and for the next 58 years, black children attended separate schools which were, almost without exception, inferior to the facilities of their white neighbors.

[98] Jerrold M. Packard, *American Nightmare*, 74.
[99] As a reminder, the Thirteenth Amendment ended slavery in the United States, and the Fourteenth Amendment declared that all persons born in the U.S. were citizens with certain common rights.
[100] "Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Civil Rights (1868)."
[101] Downs and Masur, *Era of Reconstruction*, 76.
[102] Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage, 107*. Missouri's schools were officially segregated in 1889.

Figure 14. Colored Waiting Room Sign.

Sign at a Greyhound Bus Station in Rome, GA. Credit: Library of Congress. "Jim Crow Laws," *American Experience,* Accessed September 25, 2017. http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/freedom-riders-jim-crow-laws.

The blatant inequality in educational facilities that held sway over the next half century was, in fact, the catalyst that reversed the *Plessy* decision. In 1954, the U. S. Supreme Court decision in ***Brown v Board of Education* of *Topeka, Kansas,*** decreed that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."[103] The *Brown v Board* decision was the first of several major civil rights victories in the mid twentieth century. It was followed by a number of other laws that expressly outlawed racial segregation, including state and federal Public Accommodations Acts, which ended discrimination in public facilities.[104] The landmark federal legislation of the period was the **Civil Rights Act of 1964,** which outlawed segregation in public places and banned employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex or national origin.[105]

History has shown that even major legislative actions such as the Fourteenth Amendment and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 can do just so much to address the issues of race relations in the United States. As historian Eric Foner aptly observed, the end of slavery proved to be only the first step in a process that has continued into the twenty first century.

[103] "Timeline of Missouri's African American History," Missouri Digital Heritage, August 19, 2017, https://www.sos.mo.gov/mdh/curriculum/africanamerican/timeline.http://www.sos.mo.gov/mdh/curriculum/africanamerican/timeline/timeline6.

[104] That Federal Public Accommodations Act was passed in 1964, and Missouri passed one at the state level in 1965.

[105] "Civil Rights Act of 1964," History.com, accessed September 25, 2017, http://www.history.com/topics/black-history/civil-rights-act.

Recommended Reading on the Topic of Civil Rights in the Late 1800s

Downs, Gregory P., and Kate Masur. "The Era of Reconstruction, 1861-1900: A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study." U. S. Department of the Interior, Washington DC, 2017.

Foner, Eric. *Reconstruction, America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*. Updated Edition. New York, NY: HarperPerennial, ModernClassics, 2014.

Harper, Kimberly. *White Man's Heaven: The Lynching and Expulsion of Blacks in the Southern Ozarks, 1894-1909*. Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 2010.

Packard, Jerrold M. *American Nightmare: The History of Jim Crow*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 2002.

Timeline of Major Events 1865-1900

1865, January 11. Slavery in Missouri abolished during a state constitutional convention.[106]

1865, January 31. U. S. Senate approved the Thirteenth Amendment, which ended slavery throughout the country.[107] (The Thirteenth Amendment was ratified Dec. 6, 1865.)

1865, Freedmen's Bureau and the Freedmen's Bank created.[108]

1865, April 15. Assassination of Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Johnson becomes president.[109]

1865, Missouri State law requires the provision of educational facilities for all children "without respect to race, provided that they shall be sent to separate schools."[110]

1866, *The Civil Rights Act of 1866* was the first federal law that defined citizenship and stated that all citizens are equally protected by the law.[111]

[106] Parrish, A History of Missouri Volume III: 1860 to 1875, 116.
[107] Downs and Masur, *Era of Reconstruction*, 66.
[108] Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage,* 94.
[109] Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*, 4-5.
[110] James H. Robinson, *Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Schools,* (Jefferson City: Ellwood Kirby, Public Printer, 1866), 107.
[111] *Civil Rights Act of 1866, 14 Stat. 27-30*, Wikipedia, accessed August 14, 2017, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Civil_Rights_Act_of_1866.

1866, July 9. Fourteenth Amendment was passed. The Fourteenth Amendment declared that all persons born in the U. S. (including African Americans) were citizens with certain common rights.[112]

1868, Fifteenth Amendment passed, which gave black men the vote. It was ratified in 1870.[113]

1875, Civil Rights Act of 1875 makes it a crime to deny access to public facilities based on race.

1876, ca. George Washington Carver moves to Neosho on his own to attend school. He was 11 or 12 years old.

1877, "Compromise of 1877," results in withdrawal of federal troops from southern states.[114]

1879-80, ca. The "Kansas Fever Exodus" sees thousands of African Americans leave the south to settle in Kansas.[115]

1878, George Washington Carver leaves Neosho with a black family headed to Fort Scott, Kansas, where he attended school.[116]

1879, March 27 After being forced to witness a mob murder of a black man in Fort Scott, Caver moves to Paola, Kansas.[117]

1883, U. S. Supreme Court overturns Civil Rights act of 1875.[118]

1896, Supreme Court ruling in the case of *Plessy v Ferguson* establishes the practice of "separate but equal" and legalized racial segregation throughout the country.[119]

[112] Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*, 5.
[113] Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*, 261-280.
[114] Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*, 7.
[115] Painter, *Exodusters*, 184.
[116] McMurry, *George Washington Carver: Scientist & Symbol*, 21.
[117] George Washington Carver, 1941 or 42 notes to Rackam Holt, quoted in Fuller and Mattes, "The Early Life of George Washington Carver," 48.
[118] Packard, *American Nightmare,* 60.
[119] Downs and Masur, *Era of Reconstruction*, 76.

C. Education for African Americans: 1865-1900

George Washington Carver was born about the time Missouri first passed legislation to require public education for blacks as well as whites, and over the next decade, he attended public schools in five cities and two states. The 1872 Neosho Colored School was Neosho's first dedicated African American school-house, and the first public school that George Washington Carver attended for any length of time. It is also the only surviving public school building in which Carver attended classes. He was a student at the Neosho school ca. 1876 to ca. 1878. Carver's time in public school corresponded to a crucial period of development for public education in the southern United States. Before the Civil War, few southern states had public schools for whites or blacks, but Reconstruction brought a new emphasis on universally accessible public education. The Freedmen's Bureau and newly freed blacks were instrumental in the creation of public school systems in all former slave states. While public school systems of the late nineteenth century were generally required to serve blacks as well as whites, most were segregated, and African American schools were almost universally of lesser quality than white schools in the same towns.

Establishing African American Schools in the South: 1860-1870

One of the more enduring legacies of Reconstruction was the establishment of public school systems throughout the South.[1] Before the war, it was illegal to teach enslaved persons to read or write in all southern states; by 1870, thousands of African American schools had been established in the South, and most of those states had public school systems which were required to include schools for African Americans.[2]

New southern schools for blacks began popping up in the early years of the Civil War. Education was often one of the first things newly freed African Americans sought out, and as soon as areas were under control of Union forces, freedpeople began flocking to makeshift schools. As one description of the time period noted, "from the earliest days of the Civil War, as the US Army advanced on the confederacy, freedpeople formed schools taught by the literate few or by northern teachers both black and white."[3]

Many of those early schools were taught by teachers supplied by northern aid societies, including the American Missionary Association (AMA), which was among the most active such groups throughout the 1860s. New black schools began appearing in former Confederate territory as early as 1862, when the AMA helped establish Penn School on St. Helena Island, in South Carolina. (See Figure 15.) Penn School saw sustained success, and it

[1] Note: throughout this chapter, "southern" or "the South" is used as a general term to describe states in which slavery was legal before the Civil War; that description includes Missouri.
[2] James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 18.
[3] Gregory P. Downs and Kate Masur, *The Era of Reconstruction, 1861-1900: A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (Washington D.C.:U. S. Department of the Interior, 2017), 29.

remained in operation into the 1940s. In January 2017, it became part of the newly formed Reconstruction Era National Monument. [4]

Figure 15. Brick Church, Penn School, South Carolina. Built ca. 1855, the church was among the first buildings for the Penn School, which was founded in 1862.
Historic American Building Survey photo By Jack Boucher – February 20, 2018, https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/sc0775.photos.151869 p, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=34402594.

Military service also provided education for African Americans during the war. In 1863, Abraham Lincoln ordered that all black men between the ages of twenty and forty-five could enlist in the Union Army, and that all who chose to serve would be emancipated.[5] Many of those new soldiers, who were organized into all-black regiments, were taught to read and write while in the service.[6] Those soldiers in turn shared their knowledge with others, and some even worked to establish schools once the war was over. That was the case in Missouri, where Lincoln Institute (now Lincoln University) was established in 1866 with funds supplied by black soldiers from Missouri. Those men had learned to read while in the service and wanted to ensure that others were given the same opportunities.[7]

[4] Henry Sullivan Williams, "The Development of the Negro Public School System in Missouri: The Period from 1865-1875," *Journal of Negro History* Vol V, 2 (1920): 137-165.
[5] Lorenzo J. Greene, Gary R. Kremer, and Antonio F. Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1993), 77.
[6] John W. Alvord, *Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, Jan. 1866), 1.
[7] Greene, Kremer, and Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage*, 98-101.

While many of the early southern schools for African Americans were aided by northern benevolent societies like the AMA, and later the Freedmen's Bureau, it should be noted that African Americans were a driving force in the movement to set up schools for freedpeople. As historian James Anderson noted, "before northern benevolent societies entered the South in 1862, before President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 and before Congress created the Bureau of Refugees Freedmen and Abandoned lands (Freedmen's Bureau) in 1865, slaves and free persons of color had already begun to make plans for the systematic instruction of their illiterates."[8] That was no small task; in 1863, only 5% of the four million African Americans in the southern states were literate.[9] But, as W. E. B. DuBois pointed out, southern blacks welcomed the challenge: "The very feeling of inferiority which slavery forced upon them fathered an intense desire to rise out of their condition by means of education."[10]

The creation of the Freedmen's Bureau in 1865 brought the power of the federal government to bear on the issue of education in the south. Education was widely recognized as a tool to establish economic self-sufficiency, and early leaders of the Bureau considered it to be "the foundation upon which all efforts to assist freemen rested."[11] The Bureau had some funding to build or operate schools, and it was also able to coordinate efforts of local residents and northern aid societies to assist with their establishment. Once the schools were up and running, the Bureau provided some oversight and assistance. That role proved to be of great use, and historian Eric Foner observed that the Freedmen's Bureau's activity in the area of education "probably represents the agency's greatest success in the postwar South."[12] Although the work of the Freedman's Bureau was concentrated in former rebel states, the agency also worked in former slave states that had remained loyal to the Union, including Missouri.[13]

The national superintendent of schools for the Freedmen's Bureau, northerner John W. Alvord, began his tenure with the Bureau in late 1865 with a personal tour of the former confederate states. His first report for the Bureau, written in January of 1866, commenced with the note that "The desire of the freedmen for knowledge cannot be overstated." He included a list of reasons for that enthusiasm, the first of which was "the natural thirst for knowledge common to man."[14]

Alvord was somewhat surprised to find that African Americans had already established hundreds of schools on their own, and wrote that "an effort is being made by the colored

[8] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 7.
[9] W. E. B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1935), 638.
[10] DuBois, *Black Reconstruction*, 638.
[11] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction, America's Unfinished Revolution 1863-1877* (New York, NY: HarperPerennial, ModernClassics, 2014), 144.
[12] Foner, *Reconstruction, America's Unfinished Revolution*, 144.
[13] Alvord, *Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen*, July, 1870, 45.
[14] Alvord, *Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen*, January, 1866, 1.

people to educate themselves."[15] Alvord's first report described what he called "native schools," which he found "throughout the south," including in many areas that had not been visited by the Freedmen's Bureau or northern benevolent societies. He gave the example of a subscription school in Goldsboro, North Carolina, that was founded near the end of the war by two "colored young men, who but a little time before commenced to learn themselves…these teachers told me that 'no white man before me, had ever come near them'."[16] When Alvord visited the school in 1865, they had 150 pupils, and he noted that the students were in need of books.

Demand for schools for African Americans increased exponentially in the late 1860s, as millions of people sought to take advantage of their new freedom by attending school. Historian Eric Foner noted: "Access to education for themselves and their children was, for blacks, central to the meaning of freedom…Adults as well as children thronged to the schools established during and after the Civil War."[17] Many of the adults received their education via Sabbath and night schools, which were particularly popular just after the end of the war. Reports filed by the Freedmen's Bureau showed that 20% of the southern black schools in operation in late 1866 were night schools.[18] As more adults entered the workforce, and public school systems came online, that percentage decreased, and by 1870s, night schools numbered less than 10% of the total.[19]

Freedmen's Bureau reports also show that a substantial number of the new black schools that were created in the late 1860s were financed at least in part by freedpeople. They pooled their resources to finance school-houses, and spent what was often a substantial percentage of their meager incomes on tuition for subscription schools. In January of 1867, for example, Alvord reported that just over half of the schools for "freedmen and refugees" were fully or partially "sustained by Freedmen," and by 1868, that proportion had risen to 72%.[20] (See Figure 16.) In all, it has been estimated that by 1870, African Americans had spent over $1 million on education.[21] Freedmen's Bureau reports show that freedpeople paid over $150,000 per year for tuition alone in the late 1860s.[22]

Missouri was no exception to that trend. In 1865, the Missouri State Superintendent of Schools noted that "Whilst there have been no appropriations of the public funds for the education of colored children, it is astonishing to see such prosperous private schools, supported by the colored people, in many portions of our country. Ere the State is ready to

[15] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 6.
[16] Alvord, *Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen*, January, 1866, 10.
[17] Foner, *Reconstruction, America's Unfinished Revolution*, 96.
[18] Alvord, *Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen*, January, 1867, 4.
[19] Alvord, *Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen*, January, 1870, 6-7.
[20] Alvord, *Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen*, January, 1870, 6-7.
[21] Foner, *Reconstruction, America's Unfinished Revolution*, 98.
[22] Alvord, *Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen*, 1868-1870.

contribute the means to educate the colored man, many of them will be prepared to take places as teachers to assist in elevating that standard of his race."[23]

Figure 16. Statistics on Black Schools in the South—1867-1870.

Statistics from John W. Alvord, U.S. Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands: Semi-Annual Reports on Schools for Freedmen. Numbers 1-10, January 1867-July 1870.

Date Of Report	Number of Schools Reported	Number "Fully Supported by Freedmen"	Number "Partially Supported by Freedmen"	Total Supported by Freedmen
January 1867	1,207	333	290	623 (51%)
July 1868	1,831	458	867	1,325 (72%)
July 1870	2,039	250	1,074	1,324 (65%)

The Development of Public Education in the South: 1865-1870

Freedpeople were also very active in the movement to establish free public schools for all in southern states. Free public education was, in most of those states, a relatively new concept.[24] Although many northern states had well-established public school systems the time of the Civil War, there were almost no public schools in the south, for whites or blacks.[25] As historian James Anderson explained, that lack was in part cultural. He wrote that the South's "landed upper class" saw education as a "violation of the natural evolution of society" and noted that "other classes of white southerners…showed little inclination to challenge the planters on these questions."[26] That changed with Reconstruction, when freedpeople began to campaign for publicly-funded education. Writing in 1935, W. E. B. DuBois stated that "Public education for all at public expense was, in the South, a Negro idea."[27]

As each of the former Confederate states set about the task of writing new state constitutions, generally under Republican rule, freedpeople were able to use their new political power to ensure that public education was included in the new constitutions. As one historian noted, "Reconstruction had given the freedmen a solid representation in the business of reconstructing civil government in the erstwhile Confederacy and had placed, incidentally, the destiny of public education largely in their hands."[28] Their efforts met with success; by the time the Freedmen's Bureau ended its educational program in 1870, most of the southern states had at least basic public school systems that were open to all races.[29]

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[23] James H. Robinson, *Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Schools* (Jefferson City, MO: Ellwood Kirby, Public Printer, 1866), 111-112.
[24] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 4.
[25] DuBois, *Black Reconstruction*, 638.
[26] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 4.
[27] DuBois, *Black Reconstruction*, 638.
[28] Henry Allen Bullock, *A History of Negro Education in the South from 1619 to the Present* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 45.
[29] Alvord, *Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen,* January, 1870, 11-59.

Early African American Education in Missouri

Missouri was somewhat ahead of many former slave states in the development of public schools for blacks. Alvord's report of July 1866 included a section on Missouri, with the note that the state "has proposed to educate the freedmen, and the probability is that they will enter upon the work quite extensively during the coming season."[30] A report he made in 1870 shows that he felt that his prediction had been largely accurate, stating that "the freedmen's schools in Missouri are now able to go on with very little aid from this bureau."[31]

On January 11, 1865 the state of Missouri passed the Emancipation Act of 1865, to abolish slavery in the state, and just a few weeks later, adopted a new constitution that required the provision of free educational facilities for all children, including "colored children," but also called for black children to be taught in separate facilities.[32] The legislation included the following passage:

> *The word "white," whenever it occurs in the act to which this is amendatory, is hereby stricken out; and it is further enacted that the trustees of all school districts in this State shall make provisions for the instruction of all children of the proper age in their respective schools without respect to color, provided that they shall be sent to separate schools.*[33]

The law also specifically required schools for African American students to be established wherever there were more than 20 students of school age, and that black children had to be included in school district enumerations, even if there were fewer than the requisite number for a school. Those regulations were later amended to make it easier to get black schools up and running. The minimum number of black children was dropped to 15 in 1868, and a year later the law was changed so that two districts that separately had fewer than the requisite number could band together to establish a "union" school between the districts.[34]

Although the first law requiring public education for blacks in Missouri was passed in 1865, state and local funding was not established until later. As a result, in the years immediately following the war, Missouri was like many of the former Confederate states, in that most of the black schools in the state were either private subscription schools or were supported by white benevolent societies such as the AMA, or the Northwestern Freedmen's Aid Commission. The AMA alone operated fourteen different schools in the Missouri in the 1860s.[35] Many of those early schools were also assisted by the Freedmen's Bureau, which

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[30] Alvord, *Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen,* January, 1866, 10.
[31] Alvord, *Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen,* January, 1870, 55.
[32] Williams, *School System*, 138.
[33] Quoted in James H. Robinson, *Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Schools (*Jefferson City, MO: Ellwood Kirby, Public Printer, 1866) 107.
[34] Stacy Alvarez, "Special History Study: Significance of the 1872 Neosho 'Colored School', Neosho, Missouri," (George Washington Carver National Monument, Diamond, MO, 2005) 6-7.
[35] William Parrish, *A History of Missouri Volume III 1860 to 1875* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1973), 161.

recorded a total of 38 African American schools and 2,698 pupils in Missouri in July, 1866.[36] That compares to favorably to Kansas, in which 15 schools and 1,500 pupils were recorded by the Bureau that same year, and Arkansas, which had 30 schools and 1,584 pupils.[37]

As was the case in many southern states, efforts to establish black schools in Missouri were often hampered by local resistance to the entire concept of providing public education for blacks. In spite of the work of the state superintendent of schools and organizations such as the AMA and the Freedman's Bureau, early compliance with the new laws was spotty. J. Milton Turner, a prominent black civil rights leader from Missouri. Turner was hired by the Freedman's Bureau to investigate the condition of black schools across Missouri in the late 1860s. He found a range of conditions and attitudes toward public education for black children. Many local school board members opposed the concept and did all they could to avoid having to set up black schools, while others were willing, but lacked money, qualified teachers, or both.[38]

In some cases, efforts to establish schools for African Americans were met with violent opposition. Turner wrote in 1870 that "There are other places (in Missouri) I would like to visit but my life has been threatened several times and I fear to go too far into the interior."[39] Turner also recorded the fate of a school in New Madrid County that was established and operated by freedpeople. In an 1870 letter to F. A. Seeley, the Superintendent of Education for the Freedmen's Bureau in Missouri, he included a short history of the school:

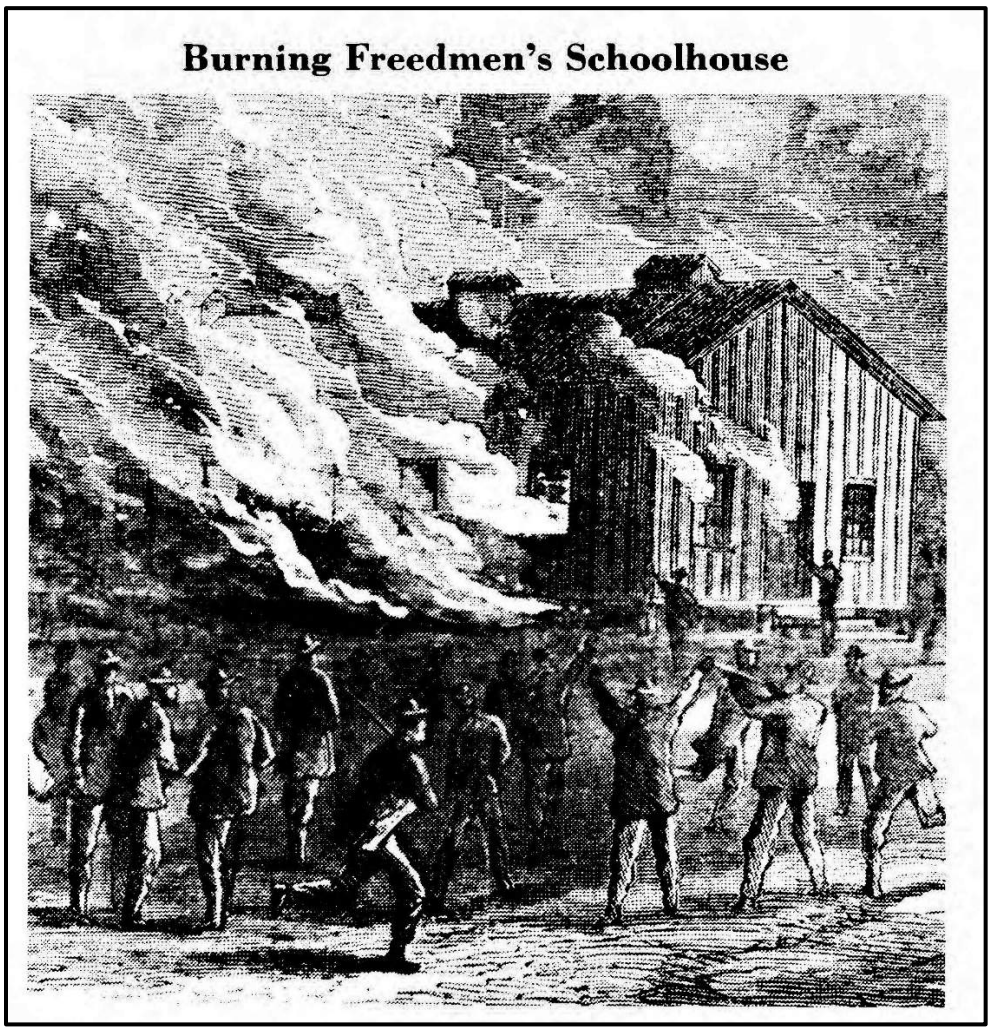
> *It was organized in Nov. 1867 by Robert W. Stokes…in 1868 a number of colored citizens by united effort built a box school house…it is unfinished within and without. It has no furniture or apparatus for teaching. These colored men formed themselves into a school society. They elected from their number a local school board and assumed the support and direction of the school…*[40]

Turner was impressed with Stokes and his school, and he urged the Freedmen's Bureau and the State Superintendent of Schools to support the school. He also encouraged the African Americans who had founded the school to become politically active so they could help elect blacks to the county school board at the next election. Sadly, just a short time after Turner's report to Seeley, he received to a letter from Stokes informing him that the New Madrid county school had been

[36] Alvord, *Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen,* January, 1866, 11.
[37] Alvord, *Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen,* July, 1866, 10-11.
[38] Lawrence J. Christensen, "Schools for Blacks: J. Milton Turner in Reconstruction Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 76 (1982): 121-135.
[39] Christensen, "Schools for Blacks," 131.
[40] J. Milton Turner to F. A. Seeley, February 9, 1870, Bureau of Freedmen Refugees and Abandoned Lands, (BFRA), Letters Received, Registered Vol. 4, L-Z, National Archives, Washington, D. C., quoted in Christensen, "Schools for Blacks," 131-132.

burned, and that Stokes had been given a written warning that he would "be treated in the same way" if he persisted in his efforts.[41]

Figure 17. Political Cartoon: Burning Freedmen's Schoolhouse.
From Lawrence J. Christensen, "Schools for Blacks: J. Milton Turner in Reconstruction Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review 76* (1982): 134.



Staffing Challenges

Finding qualified teachers for the new black schools proved to be particularly challenging. There was a general shortage of teachers for any schools at the time, black or white. The Newton County Superintendent of Schools reported in 1867 that qualified teachers were hard to find and that he sometimes had to grant teaching "certificates more on the necessities of the schools for teachers than on the merits of the teachers."[42] Qualified black

[41] Robert W. Stokes to F. A. Seeley, Augusts 25, 1870, BFRA Letters Received, Vol. 5, 1870s G-Z, quoted in Christensen, "Schools for Blacks," 135.
[42] J. G. Grigg, in T. A. Parker, *Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Schools* (Jefferson City, MO: Ellwood Kirby Public Printer, 1869) 117.

teachers were particularly scarce, since African Americans had not previously been allowed an education, and it was often difficult to find white teachers for black schools. Some of the white teachers did not want to teach in black schools and many school boards would not allow it even if the teachers were willing. There was also resistance from African Americans, who wanted their children to learn from members of their own race. J. Milton Turner was clearly more interested in the quality of education offered to black students than the race of their teacher. He wrote of the Tipton, Missouri school district that the board was willing to open a school, but were "quite anxious to employ an incompetent and very ignorant negro man as teacher. I protested… After some trouble the Bd. of Ed. consented to employ Mr. Thorn, a very good teacher and a white man."[43]

As more black schools were established, the teacher shortage became acute. The State Superintendent of Schools and other educational leaders encouraged the state to set up normal schools to assist with the training of black teachers.[44] In 1869, black teachers were still barred from attending local institutes and training schools, and were not even allowed to attend the meeting of the state educational association.[45] That shortage was acknowledged by the State Superintendent of Schools, Thomas A. Parker. Parker was a Radical Republican who was elected to that office in 1866 and was active in the early development of the state's public school system.[46]

In his annual report for 1869, Parker recommended that the legislature lend support to an established African American academy, the Lincoln Institute in Jefferson City, which was by then in its fourth year of operation, but struggling. He called for an annual appropriation of $5,000 for the school. In 1870, the state legislature approved that plan, as long as Lincoln trustees would agree to improve the facilities and convert the school into a normal school for the training of black teachers. The trustees agreed, and those changes resulted in a steady increase in enrollment and continued success. In 1879 the state assumed full support of the school.[47] Lincoln Institute, now known as Lincoln University, is still in operation, with approximately 2,600 students in 2018.[48]

Although the vast majority of the state's first African American schools were located in St. Louis and other larger towns, the development of the state's public school system in the late 1860s and early 1870s brought an increase in the numbers of rural schools for blacks. Annual Missouri State Superintendent of Schools reports show that by 1868, more than thirty counties had at least one public school for African Americans, and by 1872, there were

[43] Christensen, "J. Milton Turner in Reconstruction Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 125.
[44] The term "Normal School" is based on the goal of establishing standards, or norms, for education, via the training of future teachers.
[45] Parrish, *A History of Missouri*, 166.
[46] Tiffany Patterson, "One-Teacher Public Schools of Missouri, c. 1774 to c. 1973," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, 2011, E.6-E.7, and Parrish, *A History of Missouri*, 166.
[47] Parrish, *A History of Missouri*, 166-169.
[48] "Total Enrollment—Semester," *Lincoln University*, Feb. 23, 2018, https://www.lincolnu.edu/web/oira/facts-figures-semester/total-enrollment-semester.

227 schools for blacks in operation in Missouri.[49] Newton County was among the first rural counties to establish African American schools; there was at least one black public school in operation there in 1867, and by 1872, there were five.

Early African American Schools in Newton County

Reports filed by the Newton County superintendents of schools in the late 1860s and early 1870s indicate that the county was relatively liberal when it came to education for black students. Black schools were not given the same level of attention or funding as white schools, but there is little evidence of any significant resistance to the concept of setting up "colored schools." Newton County School Superintendent J. G. Grigg wrote of the 1867-68 school year that: "There seems to be considerable interest manifested by our citizens in the education of the colored people of this county. Newtonia being the only place in the county where a sufficient number of them are located to entitle them to a separate school, they are here furnished with a comfortable house and a number one teacher."[50]

Newtonia, which is located a few miles east of Neosho, had the largest number of African American residents in the county in 1870, so it is not surprising that the county's first known black school was established there. According to the 1870 census, Newtonia Township had 138 African American residents, and 1,609 whites, and Neosho Township had 123 black residents and 2,022 whites. (See Figures 18 and 19.) Those two townships had by far the largest number of African American residents—black populations in the other townships ranged from zero to 33.[51] It is likely that the school described by Superintendent Grigg in 1868 was located on Block 17 in Newtonia, near the intersection of Elm and Sycamore Streets. That part of town was home to most of the African Americans who lived in the community in the late 1800s.[52] A county atlas map published in 1902 shows both a "Col. School" and a "Col. Church" on that block.[53] Newtonia maintained at least one black school until the early twentieth century, when it was closed due to falling enrollment.[54]

[49] T. A. Parker, *Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Schools* (Jefferson City, MO: Ellwood Kirby Public Printer, 1868), 34-35; John Monteith, *Eighth Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Schools* (Jefferson City, MO: James Regan and John Edwards Public Printers, 1873), 6.

[50] J. G. Grigg, in Parker, *Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Schools,* 118. Note: Census records for 1870 did not include any residents of Newtonia who listed their occupation as teacher.

[51] 1870 census, *Statistics of Population*, Table III, 192.

[52] Larry James, *The Towns That Mathew Built…Newtonia and Ritchey, Missouri* (Newtonia, MO: Battlefields Protection Association, 2011), 60.

[53] Missouri Publishing Company, *Plat Book of Newton County, Missouri* (Philadelphia, PA: Missouri Publishing Company, 1902), 26.

[54] James, *The Towns*, 60.

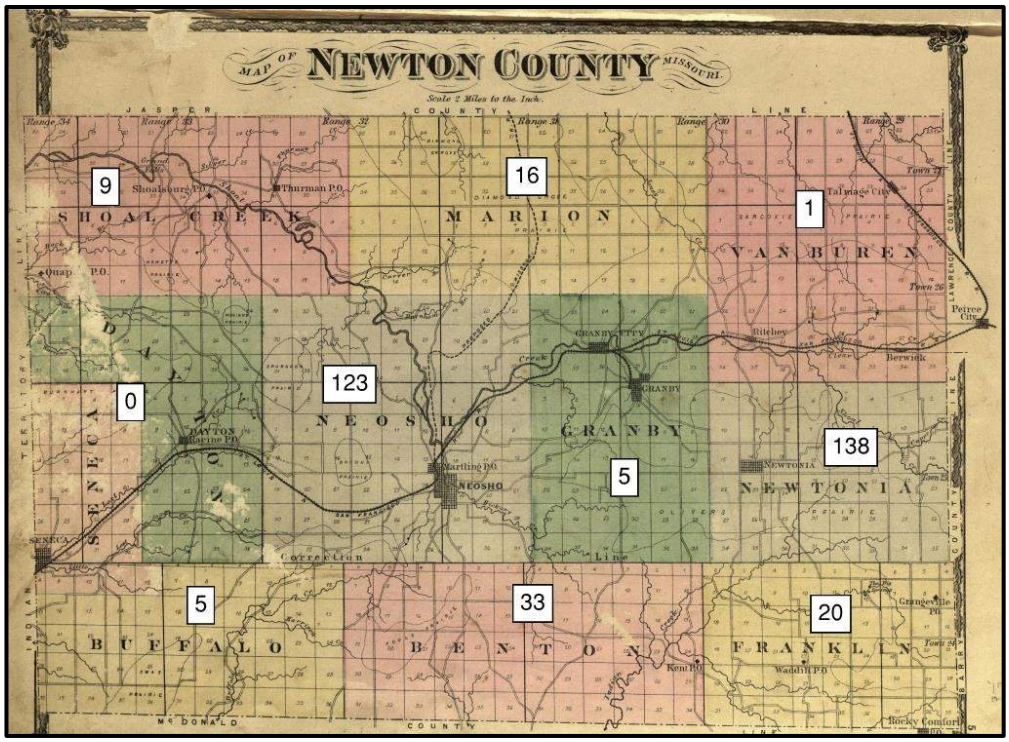
Figure 18. Population Statistics for Newton County, 1860 and 1870.

Ninth United States Federal Census 1870, *Population Tables 1-8*
(Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872).

Newton County Population of Civil Divisions Less than Counties							
	1870					1860	
Division (Township)	**Total**	**Native**	**Foreign**	**White**	**Colored**	**White**	**Colored**
Benton	968	939	29	935	33	625	46
Buffalo	785	778	7	780	5	516	8
Franklin (h)	1238	1233	5	1218	20	670	81
Granby (h)	1889	1845	44	1884	5	2256	71
Jackson (i)	---	---	---	---	---	596	13
Lost Creek	1093	1070	23	1093	---	714	---
Seneca	285	265	20	285	---	---	---
Marion	1166	1145	21	1150	16	378	17
Neosho (h)	2,022	1,935	87	1,899	123	1,492	130
Neosho	875	824	51	835	40	---	---
Newtonia (h)	1609	1596	13	1471	138	---	---
Newtonia	463	457	6	383	80	---	---
Shoal Creek	763	740	14	754	9	618	8
Van Buren (i)	1288	1255	33	1287	1	983	103
(h) In 1871 Newtonia from Franklin, Granby, and Neosho							
(i) Since 1860 Jackson merged in Van Buren							

Figure 19. 1882 Map of Newton County, Showing Townships and Black Populations as of 1870.

Edwards' Historical Atlas of Newton County, Missouri, 1882 (Philadelphia, PA: Edwards Bros. of Missouri, 1882).



The number of black schools in Newton County fluctuated over the next decade, as did the number of white schools. By the 1869-70 school year, there were three black schools in the county, with two school-houses and two teachers. The different numbers for school-houses and schools indicates that some of those early schools operated in rented quarters. The county enumeration showed 149 black school-age children, 108 of whom were pupils, and an average 3-month school term. (Many schools had two terms--fall and winter.)

Although Neosho and a few other school districts in the county had enough black students by the mid-1870s to trigger the requirement that schools be established for them, many of the rural school districts did not. Small school districts often didn't have the resources to set up separate schools, even if they so desired. A review of annual state school reports show that Parker and other early state superintendents recognized the practical burden segregation put on those districts at an early date. Parker wrote in 1868:

> *I call your attention to the case of colored children, where there are so few, that it is impracticable to maintain a separate school for them….We ought to provide the means of education to every child in this state. To accomplish this object in the simplest manner, it is suggested that in any town where, for any reason, a separate school for colored children is not established and maintained, that the principle of admission to any public school be recognized according to the first article of the Constitution, and leave the adjustment of the principle to the majority of the people.*[55]

Five years later, State Superintendent John Montieth, another Republican, wrote that the "colored people themselves are forcing a question upon us which sooner or later must be faced: that is whether the two or three little dark faces isolated in any subdistrict may slip into some corner of the white school." While he stopped short of advocating for such a practice, he did note that "whether colored children shall be admitted to white schools is a question which confronts prejudice, and appeals to benevolence more than to law. I commend this subject to the calm and reflective sense of the people."[56]

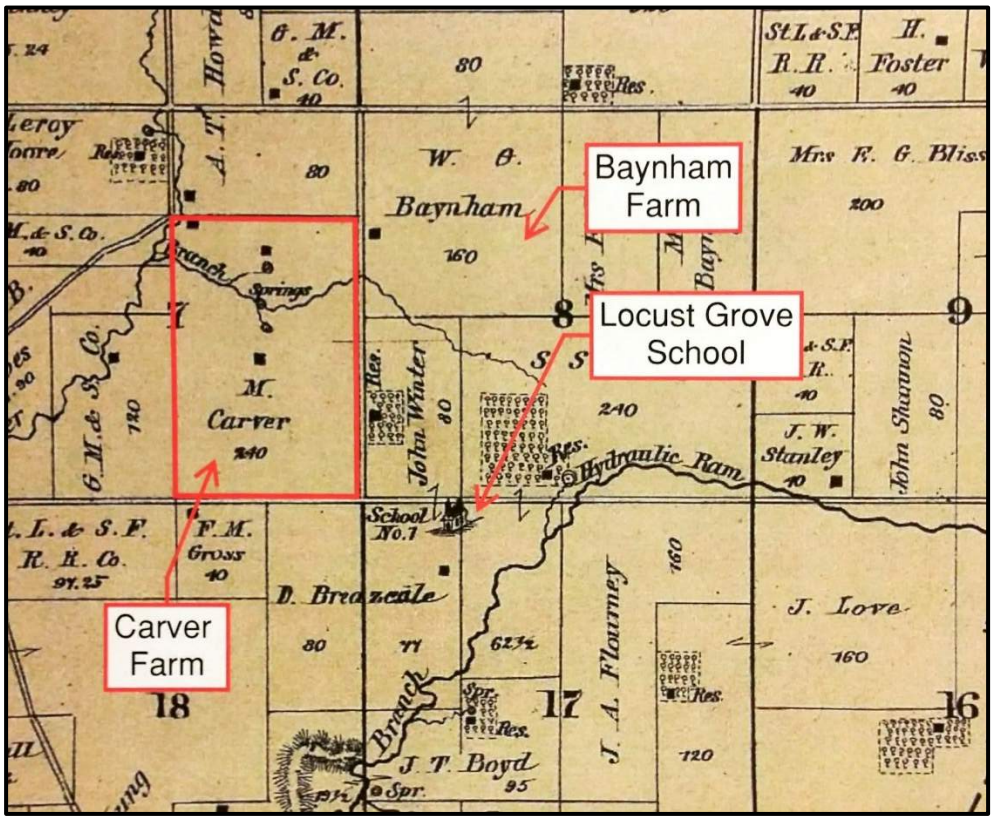
Those comments could have been written specifically about the Marion Township district served by Locust Grove School. Locust Grove School was established for white students in the late 1860s or early 1870s, and the students met in a building that doubled as a church on Sundays. [57] The school was located less than a mile from Moses Carver's farm, and

[55] T. A. Parker, *Fifth Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Schools* (Jefferson City, MO: Horace Wilcox, Public Printer, 1871), 37.
[56] John Monteith, *Seventh Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Schools* (Jefferson City, MO: James Regan and John Edwards, Public Printers, 1873), 45.
[57] *Goodspeed's History of Newton County*, 200, and Larry James and Sybil Jobe, *From Buzzard Glory to Seed Tick: A History of the Schools in Newton County, Missouri Part 1* (Neosho, MO: Newton County Historical Society, 2010), 63.

George Washington Carver and his brother Jim reportedly attended Sunday school and church services there as children.[58] (See Figure 20.)

Figure 20: Detail from the 1882 Atlas Map of Newton County showing location of the Carver Farm and Locust Grove School.

Edwards' Historical Atlas of Newton County, Missouri 1882
(Philadelphia, PA: Edwards Bros. of Missouri, 1882), 35.



George Washington Carver's First Taste of Education

It was at Locust Grove that George Washington Carver first saw the inside of a classroom, an event that was almost immediately followed by his first experience with the notion of segregated education. Around 1875, George and Jim attempted to join their white neighbors at the school in Locust Grove.[59] By most accounts, they were welcome on Sundays, but not at the "day school" that was held in the same building where they worshipped. Interviews with early residents of the area that were conducted in the 1950s revealed that the boys were refused entrance to the school because they were black.

[58] Although Carver later wrote that he was not allowed entrance to white church or Sunday school as a child, several white area residents remembered attending church or 'Sabbath School" with him at Locust Grove. See Toogood, *Historic Resource Study*, 25, and Fuller and Mattes, *The Early Life of George Washington Carver*, 26-29, and George Washington Carver to Isabelle Coleman, July 24, 1931. GWC Papers, Roll 12, frames 1264-1265.
[59] The exact date is unknown but they were definitely there before January of 1876, according to an interview quoted in "The Early Life of George Washington Carver," 29.

George Jackson (born ca. 1859) recalled in 1953 that his wife knew George Washington Carver. "She went to school with him for three days at Locust Grove. A complaint was made to the school board about George being in attendance there."[60] One woman thought they were allowed to stay as long as a year, but most others recalled that they were turned away almost immediately. Mr. Forbes Brown told interviewers in 1952 that his brother Will was a fellow student of George's in "Mrs. Abbott's Sunday School class. This was not long after the close of the Civil War and the resentment towards the Negro was such as to prevent George attending the day school."[61] Mrs. Mary Lou Hardin thought they had attended a white "subscription school" in Diamond but said "people cut up about the boys (darkies) being in school with the whites so they had to go to school in Neosho."[62]

The disappointment of being turned away from the same building where they were welcome to attend church services may have been tempered somewhat by the actions of the young white teacher at the Locust Grove School, Stephen L. Slane, who subsequently chose to tutor George Carver in his spare time.[63] Steven Slane (Aug. 24, 1852- June 29, 1932) was a native of Ohio who moved to Missouri to work as a teacher in the early 1870s. He spent a few years teaching in Greene County, Missouri Schools, and around 1875, moved to Newton County to teach at Locust Grove.[64] That was among the first of many teaching jobs he held in the Neosho area. His career in education lasted until 1923, and included serving as a principal, the manager of the Newton County Normal Academy, and as School Commissioner. He wrote in 1915 that at that time, he had been in continuous service for "forty years, or three hundred months, or six thousand days without being tardy or absent…"[65]

After George and Jim were rejected at Locust Grove School, Steven Slane began teaching George Carver after he finished with his regular school duties. [66] At the time, Slane was boarding with the Baynham family, who lived very close to the Carver farm.[67] (See Figure 20.) Slane's youngest son, Harold A. Slane, who was interviewed by historians in 1956, recalled conversations he had with his father, as well as with Carver himself about that experience. Harold Slane told the interviewers in 1956 that "in 1932, I visited Dr. Carver at Tuskegee Institute, and he also reaffirmed that he had received tutoring from my father…Dr. Carver told me in 32 that he felt that my father's influence had been very great in helping him form his background."[68] When Carver learned that Harold Slane was Steven Slane's son, he reportedly said "Well, I owe Steven L. Slane more than any person I've ever

[60] Robert P. Fuller, "Interview with George Jackson," October 4, 1953, GWCNM Library.
[61] Robert P. Fuller and Merrill J. Mattes, "The Early Life of George Washington Carver" (Diamond, MO: George Washington Carver National Monument, 1957), 26.
[62] Tuskegee Field Notes, "Interview with Mrs. Mary Lou Ella Hardin," May 26, 1948, GWCNM Library.
[63] Robert P. Fuller and C. H. Schultz, "Interview with Harold A. Slane," November 6, 1956, GWCNM Library, 1.
[64] "Stephen Larne Slane," *The Neosho Times*, March 21, 1907, and James and Jobe, *Buzzard Glory to Seed Tick*, 64.
[65] S. L. Slane, "Prof. Slane Withdraws," The Neosho Times (Neosho, MO), Feb. 11, 1915.
[66] Toogood, *Historic Resource Study*, 15 and 26.
[67] Fuller and Schultz, "Interview with Harold A. Slane," November 6, 1956, 1.
[68] Fuller and Schultz, "Interview with Harold A. Slane," November 6, 1956, 3.

known."[69] Harold Slane also said that his father told him that he found Carver to be "an exceptionally brilliant boy" and that he "felt he had given him the benefit of all the training he could, and he advised him to go up into Iowa where he could get further schooling."[70]

George Carver apparently heeded Slane's words, and while he did not immediately go to Iowa, he did decide to leave his home in search of better educational opportunities. Within a year of being rejected at Locust Grove, Carver made the decision to leave his home in search of a school that would accept him as a student. He wrote in 1922 that "my brother left the old home for Fayetteville, Arkansas. Shortly after, at the age of 10 years, I left for Neosho, a little town just 8 miles from our farm, where I could go to school."[71] That move proved to be well worth the sacrifice; in Neosho, Carver found an established black school, as well as something he had little experience with to date, an entire community of African Americans. In 1870, Marion Township, where the Carver farm was located, had just 16 African American residents, compared to 123 in nearby Neosho Township. (See Figure 19.)

Early African American Education in Neosho

The Neosho School board spent the late 1860s rebuilding a school system that had been decimated by the Civil War. Neosho had a private school for white children as early as 1842, just a few years after the town was founded, but that school closed during the war, as did most schools in the state. [72] By 1866, however, Neosho had established a board of education, and purchased the former private school building (later known as "Old Brick") to use as a white public school. A report made for the 1866-67 school year shows that the Neosho school was one of only nine public schools in the entire county to operate during the 1866-67 school year. In 1870, the 288 white children in the public school system began attending a large new school-house that had been commissioned by the school board.[73]

Neosho was also among the first towns in the county to establish a school for African Americans. The first known school for blacks in Neosho was in operation for the 1869-70 school year, when the state superintendent of schools report showed that Neosho was home to one of just three black schools in the county.[74] That school served African American students from the surrounding countryside as well; the local paper noted in 1873 that there was no black school in Neosho City (Martling), and that students from that area were to attend Neosho schools. The 1869-70 state report showed that the Neosho school had 23 students--10 boys and 13 girls, but census records show that there were only a few African American residents of school age living in the town of Neosho in 1870. There were,

[69] Fuller and Schultz, "Interview with Harold A. Slane," November 6, 1956, 2-3.
[70] Fuller and Schultz, "Interview with Harold A. Slane," November 6, 1956, 2-3.
[71] George Washington Carver, "A Brief Sketch of My Life," quoted in Kremer, *In His Own Words,* 23. Note that even Carver himself was unclear of his exact age, but recent scholarship holds that he was born in 1864 or 1865, which would have made him 11 or 12 when he came to Neosho. See Gart, 25-26, and Toogood, 19-21.
[72] Robinson, *Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Schools*, 1866, 111-112.
[73] James, *Wildcat*, 8.
[74] T. A. Parker, *Fifth Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Schools* (Jefferson City, MO: Horace Wilcox, Public Printer, 1871), 397.

however, quite a few black families living close to the town limits. The 1870 census recorded 40 African American residents in the city, and another 83 in Neosho Township.[75]

African American Students in Neosho in 1870

Of that group of 123 people, 65 were generally of school age, and at least 18 were listed in the census as having attended school in 1870; it is likely that all of those students attended the school in Neosho. (See Figure 21.) The census also reveals the presence of a distinct African American neighborhood in Neosho Township; 13 of those 18 students were living right next door to each other at the time of the census. Although "school age" at the time was officially defined as being between 5 and 21 years old, that definition was somewhat fluid in the early years of public schools, and it was not unusual to see African American students in their early to mid-twenties. Additionally, since this was very early in the history of legal education for blacks, the chronological age of the students did not always correlate to standard grade levels.[76] It was therefore not unusual for new black schools to have everything from seven-year-olds in their third year of school to twenty-somethings who had not been in a classroom before.

In 1870, five of the 18 known students in the Neosho area were in their twenties. Those older students were clearly new to school; only one appears to have been able to write and only three of them may been able to read.[77] The oldest student was Benjamin Marshall, a 26 year old native of Missouri who was already an adult when it became legal to educate blacks in the state. Marshall was not living with family in 1870, and it appears that he took time off of work to attend school. The 1870 population census gives his occupation as "works in Livery Stable," and shows that he was living with the relatively well to do family of Jacob Stewart, the white owner of the livery stable. He had apparently received at least some education before 1870; the census that year indicates that he was probably able to read, but could not write.

The youngest students, Joseph Dale and Stone Cummins, were each just five years old. They were some twenty years younger than their oldest fellow students, but had comparable levels of literacy. The census indicates that both of those boys could read in 1870, and Stone Cummins may also have been able to write. Unlike Marshall, the younger boys had access to education as soon as they were of school age, and they also had older siblings in school and were therefore exposed to the entire concept of education even earlier.

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[75] U. S. Population Census Records, 1870, Neosho Township, accessed June 2017, Ancestry.com. Note: Information about every African American listed in the 1870, 1880, and 1900 Census for Neosho and Neosho Township has been entered into a searchable database.

[76] The definition of school age is included in John Monteith, *Eighth Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Schools*, 5.

[77] The 1870 census forms used check marks instead of specific yes or no answers to the questions "cannot read" or "cannot write," which made it unclear if the census taker was actually recording literacy or simply failed to make a mark in that particular column. The presence of marks in some records indicates that the question was asked in some cases, and persons recorded without a mark have therefore been classified as "possibly" literate.

Figure 21. African American Children Listed in the Census as Attending School in or Near Neosho in 1869-1870. It is likely that several of these 18 people were among the first students of the Neosho Colored School when it opened in 1872.
United States Federal Census 1870 (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc.)

Name		*Place of Residence in 1870*	*Birth Date*	*Able to Read **	*Able to Write **
Eli	**Cooper ****	Neosho Township	1849	Yes	Yes
Peter	**Cooper**	Neosho Township	1848	No	No
Sarah	**Cummins**	Neosho Township	1856	Possibly	No
Stone	**Cummins**	Neosho Township	1864	Possibly	Possibly
James	**Cummins, Jr.**	Neosho Township	1858	Possibly	Possibly
Charles	**Dale**	Neosho Township	1856	Possibly	No
Joseph	**Dale**	Neosho Township	1864	Possibly	No
Lucretia	**Dale**	Neosho Township	1858	No	No
Matilda	**Dale**	Neosho Township	1854	Possibly	No
Philip	**Givens, Jr.**	Neosho Township	1849	Possibly	Possibly
Eliza	**Gibson**	Neosho Township	1856	Possibly	No
Flora	**Gibson**	Neosho Township	1861	Possibly	No
William	**Gibson**	Neosho Township	1858	Possibly	No
Joshia	**Halsel**	Neosho Township	1847	Possibly	Possibly
John	**Hatcher**	Neosho	1861	No	No
Benjamin	**Marshal**	Neosho	1844	Possibly	No
Alexander	**Petit**	Neosho	1849	Possibly	No
Odeal	**Petit**	Neosho	1858	Possibly	No

* The 1870 census form required a specific mark if the person could *not* read or write; blank entries have therefore been recorded here as "possibly."
** In 1870 Eli Cooper could not write, but possibly was able to read. Later census records show he could read and write by 1900.

Those early Neosho students probably attended classes in rented quarters. Possible locations include an old Masonic Hall, which had served as a temporary school for white students a few years earlier, or the local Baptist Church building. The Baptist congregation operated a "colored Sabbath school" that same year, and also had a connection to the board of education. The church established white and black Sabbath Schools in 1870, both of which were supervised by J. H. Price, who was also a member of the Neosho School Board.[78] The Baptist Church is known to have been used for school purposes later; the Neosho school board rented it and the Masonic Hall to use while a new white school was being built in 1883.[79]

Neosho's first African American school appears to have operated intermittently for the next couple of years. It is not mentioned in notices of the new school terms in the fall or winter, but does seem to have been in operation in February of 1872, when a Mrs. M. J. Scoles was

[78] Goodspeed Publishing Company, *Goodspeed's History of Newton County* (Chicago, IL: Hearthstone Publication, 1888, 2003), 97, and *The* Neosho Times, April 28, 1870, 4.
[79] *Goodspeed's History of Newton County,* 157.

named as teacher of the "colored school."[80] The local school system in general appears to have been in a state of flux in this period, with frequent staff changes. The announcement for the start of the winter term that ran in December 1871, for example, noted that Mr. D. G. Walker and wife, "late of Chicago schools" were to "take charge of the public school," and that teachers were still being selected.[81] The use of "school" in the singular there could indicate that only the white school was open at that time, or the paper may simply not have considered the black school worthy of notice at the time. Superintendent Walker resigned just a few months later, in March of 1872, and the white and black schools were "discontinued for a time" in the following months.[82] That closing must have been short-lived, as Mrs. Scoles was again listed as the teacher of the African American school in July 1872, possibly in reference to the upcoming fall term. That fall term was to be held in the community's newest school-house.

1872 Neosho Colored School: Neosho's First African American School-House

In the fall of 1872, the Neosho school board took action to secure a permanent location for a black public school. *Goodspeed's History of Newton County* noted in 1888 that, "In September (1872) a committee of the (school) board reported that they could purchase a lot and building suitable for a colored school, at $200 (Lot 6 Block 16)."[83] Newton County deed records show that on September 16, 1872, the Neosho School board bought a small house on Lot 6, Block 16 of Henning's Addition to Neosho, from James Vawter.[84] That property now has the street address of 639 Young Street. Records show that the modest two-room house was new; Vawter bought the lot in late 1870 and it appears that he completed construction of the house a few months later.[85]

The house was apparently converted into a school very soon after the school board bought the property. It was purchased in September, just a little past the usual start date for fall school terms, and was likely pressed into service immediately. A listing of teachers published in the Neosho paper just three days after the school board bought the property included a note that Mrs. Scoles was to be the teacher for the "colored school."[86] It has been assumed that she took up her teaching duties in the new building on Young Street. The

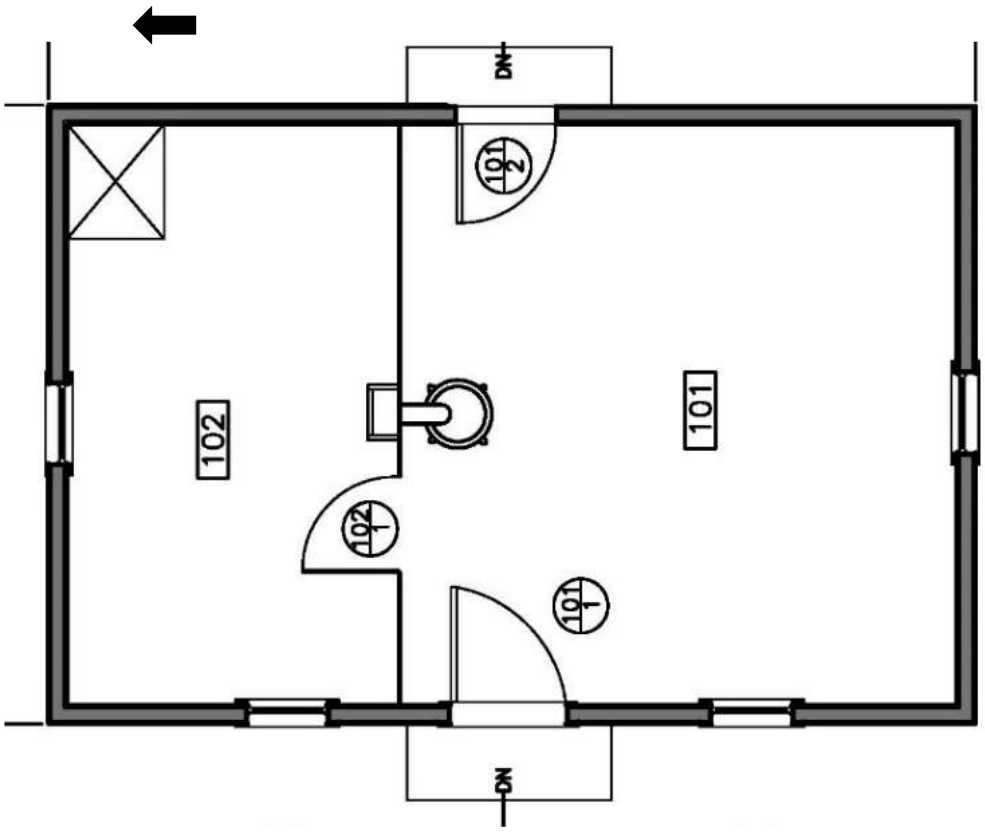
[80] *Goodspeed's History of Newton County,* 158.
[81] *The Neosho Times,* Dec. 28, 1871, 3.
[82] *Goodspeed's History of Newton County,* 145.
[83] The authors of that book appear to have had access to school board records, which were not found in recent searches.
[84] Newton County Deed Records, *Book Q*, 68.
[85] Susan Richards Johnson and Associates*, Historic Structure Report, 1872 Neosho Colored School, 639 Young St. Neosho, Missouri* (Kansas City, MO: Susan Richard Johnson and Associates, Inc., 2012), 52-53. Note: Much of the information about the school which appears in this section was originally written by Debbie Sheals for the Historic Structure Report.
[86] *The Neosho Times*, Sept 19, 1872, 4.

new school appears to have always been known simply as the "Colored School," or the "Neosho Colored School," which was common practice at the time.[87]

The small new school building was of frame construction, with a stone foundation, unpainted wood weatherboards and a steep gable roof. It had a centered front door flanked by tall windows, and a small brick chimney centered at the ridgeline of the roof. The school building had just two rooms, which were divided by a narrow plank wall. (See Figure 22.) The rooms were of unequal size; the front door opened to the larger of the rooms, which was on the south (Room 101, to the right in Figures 22 and 23.) The bracketed brick chimney on the north side of the plank wall served a stove, which was probably located in the larger room. The interior of the house was simply finished. Both rooms had wood flooring, and the perimeter walls were finished with horizontal plank wainscoting that was topped with a small chair rail. The ceilings and the upper parts of the perimeter walls were plastered.[88]

Figure 22. Original Floorplan of the School.

Plan by Susan Richards Johnson and Associates, *Historic Structure Report*, 52-53.



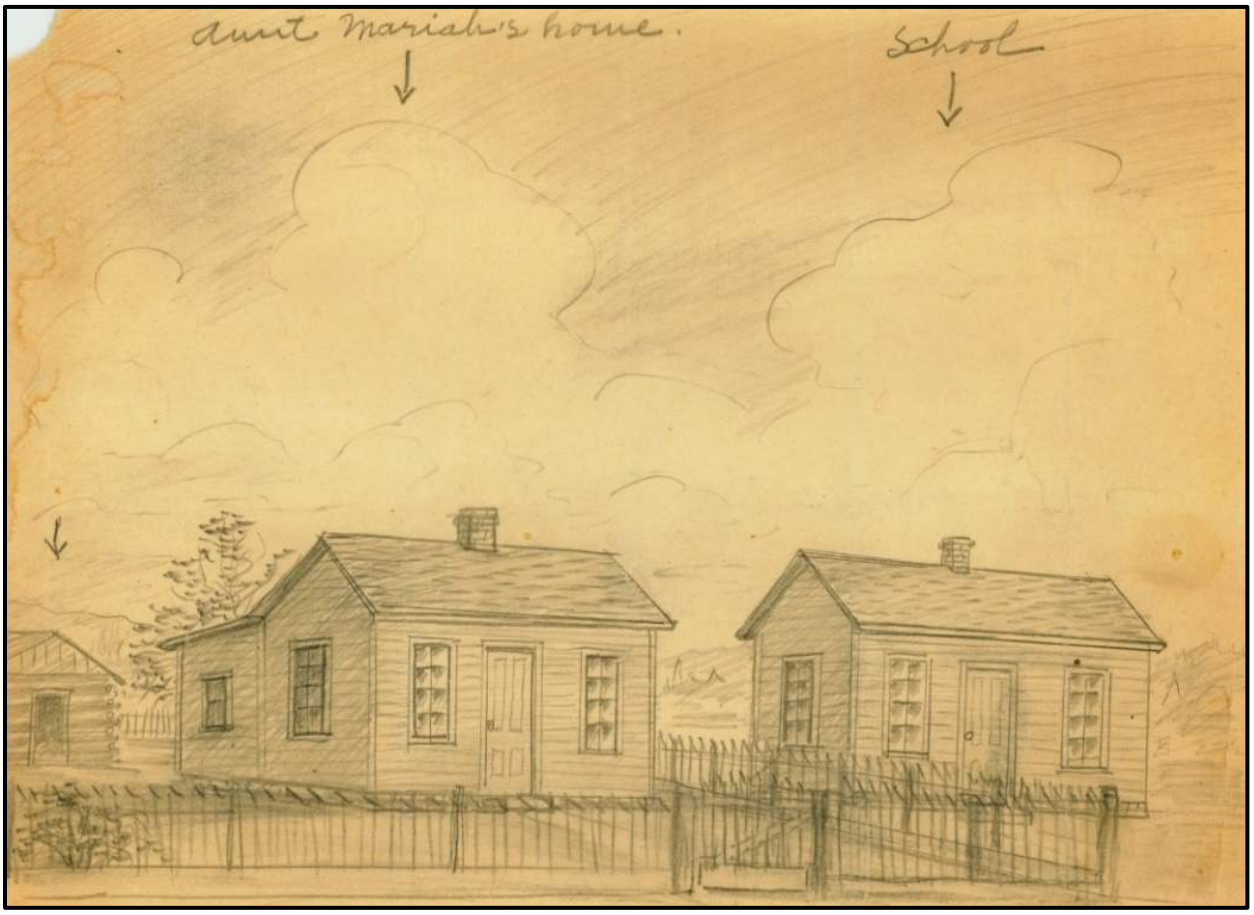
[87] Gary R. Kremer and Brett Rodgers, *African American Schools in Rural and Small Town Missouri: The Missouri River Valley* (Fulton, MO: William Woods University, 2002), 7.

[88] Susan Richards Johnson and Associates, *Historic Structure Report, 1872 Neosho Colored School,* 53-54.

The larger room probably served as the classroom. It is unlikely that the school board would have bothered to tear out the wall between the two rooms, especially because the chimney for the wood stove that provided heat was supported in part by that wall. A letter written by former student Calvin Jefferson in 1939 described the school as having one room, which had "the dimensions of about 14 by 16 feet, a crude frame building." This matches the dimensions of Room 101 quite closely; that room measures a little more than 14 feet by 15 feet.

Although there are no known photos of the building when it was new, a good drawing of it has survived, courtesy of George Washington Carver. Carver drew a sketch of the school and its surroundings with the help of his assistant Austin Curtis around 1939. The drawing includes a depiction of a similar house located next to the school, which was owned by Mariah (Aunt Mariah) and Andy Watkins. (See Figure 23.)

Figure 23. Drawing of the Neosho Colored School and its surroundings as they appeared in the mid-1870s. The school is on the right.
Drawn by George Washington Carver and his assistant, Austin Curtis, ca. 1939. (GWCNM.)



George Washington Carver's Time in Neosho: ca. 1876-ca. 1878

Carver made the drawing of the school to show historians what the area looked like when he moved to Neosho after being rejected at Locust Grove School, ca. 1876. Carver's move to Neosho yielded a new foster family as well as a new school. The note on his 1939 drawing about "Aunt Mariah's House" in the upper left part of the drawing refers to Mariah Watkins, with whom Carver lived while he attended the Neosho school. According to biographer Gary Kremer, "Carver arrived in Neosho too late to find lodging with a friendly family so he found a comfortable spot in a barn and settled in for the night. His choice of a sleeping spot was fortuitous; first the barn was practically next door to the school; second it belonged to Andrew and Mariah Watkins, a childless black couple who took in the young waif and treated him as their own."[89] (The arrow in the ca. 1939 sketch was likely included by Carver to show the location of that barn.) Carver himself wrote in 1927: "indeed Mr. and Mrs. Watkins took me in just as one of the family."[90]

Mariah Scales and Andrew Watkins were themselves relative newcomers to the community at the time. The couple married in St. Louis in 1872, and moved to Neosho soon after. In April, 1874, they bought a small three-room house on a corner lot next to the newly opened black school on Young Street, (they purchased Lot 8, Block 16 of Henning's Addition).[91] Although there was another lot between the school and the Watkins house (Lot 7), deed records indicate that it was not developed until after the mid-1880s, which means the Watkins' house was right next door to the Neosho Colored School when Carver moved there to attend school.

Another historian noted that "Mariah and Andrew Watkins allowed him to live with them in their modest three room frame house in return for helping with the chores."[92] One study of early African American schools in rural Missouri found that it was not unusual for black students to make such arrangements in order to further their education. Because there were often fewer black schools than white ones, and because those schools were more widely scattered than their white counterparts, educational access was limited. One former student recalled "they made it hard for blacks to get an education…if they didn't have enough kids in an area they didn't get no school."[93] The authors of that study talked to many former students who had endured long commutes, or like Carver, simply moved in with others who

[89] Kremer, *George Washington Carver in His Own Words*, 4.
[90] George Washington Carver, Questionnaire completed for a biographer, July 1927, (Copy on file at the George Washington Carver National Monument, Diamond, Missouri), 1.
[91] Book 3, p 439, Newton County Deed Records, On file with the Newton County Recorder, Neosho, MO.
[92] McMurry, *George Washington Carver: Scientist & Symbol*, 20.
[93] Interview with Delmar Clyborne, quoted Gary Kremer and Brett Rodgers, *African American Schools in Rural and Small Town Missouri* (Fulton, MO: William Woods University, 2002, December, 2017, https://dnr.mo.gov/shpo/survey-eg.htm), 19. Although the people interviewed for that study attended school several decades later than the Neosho Colored School was in operation, the authors noted that many of the patterns of behavior they recorded had begun during Reconstruction.

lived near a black school. They cited an interview with a former student from Boonville who recalled that "You'd stay with just about anybody you could to go to school."[94]

While it was not unusual for black children to move closer to schools, it was uncommon for them to make a move like Carver did, without connections to anyone who lived near the school they wanted to attend. George Washington Carver's gamble paid off; he not only found a home with the Watkins' right away, his time at the school also marked his first contact with an entire community of African Americans. On the Carver farm, his brother Jim was the only other black person with whom he had regular contact, and census records show that there were less than twenty other African Americans in all of Marion Township in 1860 and 1870.[95] Neosho provided a marked change, with over a hundred black residents, as well as a school that was dedicated to the education of African Americans.

Dates of George Washington Carver's Attendance at the Neosho Colored School

Although exact dates have been difficult to ascertain, it appears that Carver moved in with the Watkins' in 1876, and may have stayed until early to mid-1878. Fellow student Calvin Jefferson remembered him living there "several years," but another fellow student, as well as Carver himself, recalled that he was only there for about nine months. He is known to have left Neosho to attend school in Fort Scott, where he reportedly stayed for less than a year. A review of primary and secondary sources that was done in the 1950s established that Carver was definitely in Fort Scott in early 1879.[96] Carver later wrote that he left Fort Scott because a black man had been lynched there, and newspapers of the day set that event at March 1879. Carver was therefore likely in school in Fort Scott for the 1878-79 school year.[97] Working back from that date, Carver would have left Neosho no later than the summer of 1878, or just under two years after he moved in with the Watkins'.

Day to Day Operation of the Neosho Colored School

Statistics gathered from the time the Neosho Colored School was in operation indicate that it generally served 20 to 60 students at a time. The highest enrollment documented by contemporary sources such as newspaper articles or Superintendent of Schools reports is 62, for the 1879-80 school year, with an average attendance for the fall 1879 term of 47.[98] Most other years saw 21 to 30 students on average.

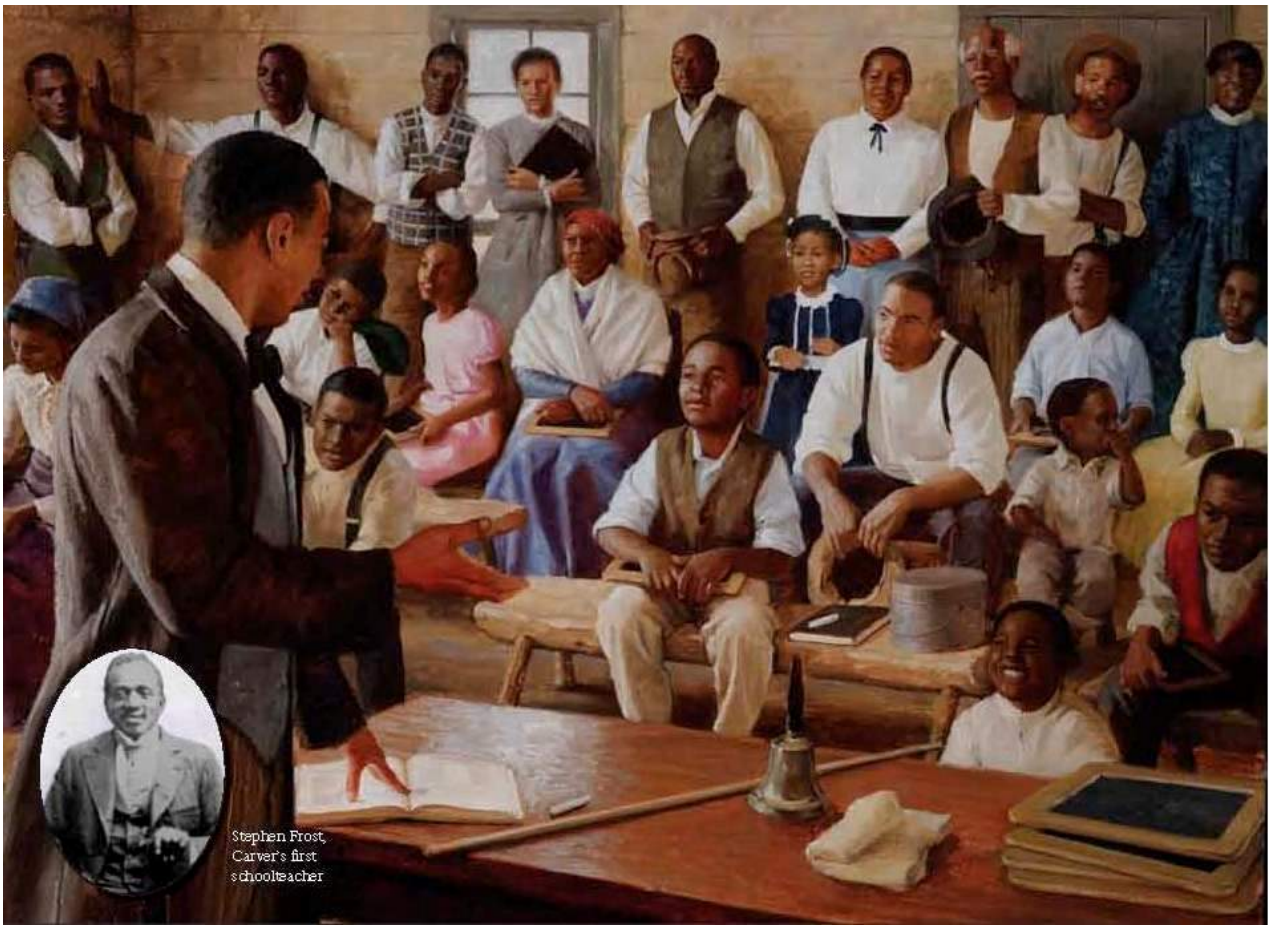
The school building on Young Street was probably very simply furnished and equipped. Not even the white schools in Newton County could boast of excessive furnishings or equipment in that time period. During 1875-76 school year, for example, all Newton County schools reported spending a total of just $33 dollars on apparatus, and nothing on

[94] Interview with Sylvester Hill, quoted in Kremer and Rodgers, *African American Schools,* 20.
[95] See Figures 18 and 19 for Marion Township population statistics.
[96] Fuller and Mattes, *The Early Life of George Washington Carver*, 50, and Gart, *He Shall Direct Thy Paths,* 62-65. He was listed in a Fort Scott city directory on 1879.
[97] Fuller and Mattes, *The Early Life of George Washington Carver*, 51.
[98] "Report of Colored School," *Neosho Daily Miner and Mechanic,* Feb. 5, 1880, 1.

libraries.[99] (For the sake of comparison, the average monthly salary for a teacher that year was $28 a month.) It was not until the late 1880s that any Neosho schools started receiving "patent desks", and one may assume those were first installed in the white schools. Furnishings at the school on Young Street were probably limited to basic seating, a wood stove for heat, and perhaps a small desk for the teacher. Carver later wrote that he did not remember much about the school except "its crude wooden benches and other rickety furniture."[100] (See Figure 24.)

Figure 24. Artist's interpretation of the interior when school was in session.

Although some of the details of the architecture are depicted differently from what was there, the overall layout of the classroom is quite plausible. There are 23 people shown here, less than half of the average attendance in 1879. It should also be noted that although early students often included persons in their twenties, it is not likely that this many adults would have been in the classroom on a regular basis. Rendering courtesy GWCNM.

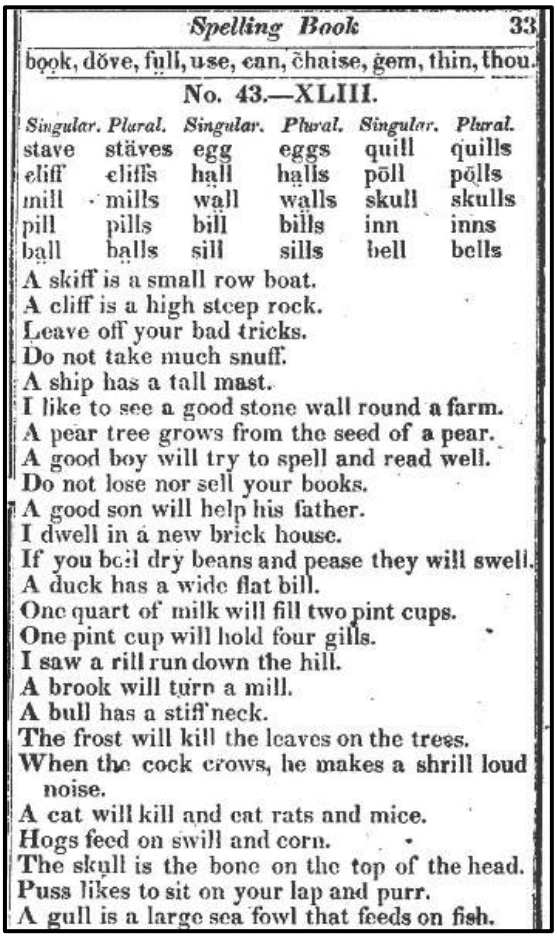


[99] R. D. Shannon, *26th Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Schools* (Jefferson City, MO: Regan and Carter, State Printers, 1876) 118.

[100] George Washington Carver, Questionnaire completed for a biographer, July 1927, (GWCNM), 1.

Textbooks may have included old copies of those used by the white school when it opened in 1867. As noted in the statewide study of early African American schools, in most cases, "books and other educational materials were hand-me-downs from the white schools."[101] The Neosho school system began to update their book selection around 1870, and it is likely that the black school received cast off books from the white school at that time. Those books were described in an 1880s history as "McGuffy's Reader, Ray's arithmetics, Bruell's geographies, Pinneo's grammar, and Webster's speller."[102] (See Figure 25.)

That Webster's speller would have been familiar to Carver, as it was the only book he had known to date. As he later wrote of his early quest for an education: "I wanted to know every strange stone, flower, insect, bird or beast. No one could tell me. My only book was an old Webster's Elementary Spelling Book. I would seek the answers there without satisfaction."[103]



Spelling Book 33

book, dŏve, full, use, can, chaise, gem, thin, thou.

No. 43.—XLIII.

Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
stave	stäves	egg	eggs	quill	quills
cliff	cliffs	hall	halls	pōll	pōlls
mill	mills	wall	walls	skull	skulls
pill	pills	bill	bills	inn	inns
ball	balls	sill	sills	bell	bells

A skiff is a small row boat.
A cliff is a high steep rock.
Leave off your bad tricks.
Do not take much snuff.
A ship has a tall mast.
I like to see a good stone wall round a farm.
A pear tree grows from the seed of a pear.
A good boy will try to spell and read well.
Do not lose nor sell your books.
A good son will help his father.
I dwell in a new brick house.
If you boil dry beans and pease they will swell.
A duck has a wide flat bill.
One quart of milk will fill two pint cups.
One pint cup will hold four gills.
I saw a rill run down the hill.
A brook will turn a mill.
A bull has a stiff neck.
The frost will kill the leaves on the trees.
When the cock crows, he makes a shrill loud noise.
A cat will kill and eat rats and mice.
Hogs feed on swill and corn.
The skull is the bone on the top of the head.
Puss likes to sit on your lap and purr.
A gull is a large sea fowl that feeds on fish.

Figure 25. A page from the 1830 edition of the "Webster's Speller." Webster, Noah, LL.D. The Elementary Spelling Book; Being an Improvement on the American Spelling Book." Concord, NH: Moses G. Atwood, 1832.

Although a school playground as we know it today is a relatively modern innovation, students of the school on Young Street did have a schoolyard of sorts, and were given time for recess. County deed records show that the lot between the school building and Aunt Mariah's house to the north was not developed until later in the 19th century, leaving a convenient open space for school activities. Carver's own sketch of the school and Aunt Mariah's house shows only those two buildings on that part of the block, with a fence around the Watkins' yard. Calvin Jefferson remembered that the "yard joined the school grounds….when the bell rang for classes George would hop over the fence and return to his classes."[104] (See Figure 23.)

[101] Kremer and Rogers, *African American Schools*, 17.
[102] *Goodspeed's Illustrated History of Missouri*, 345.
[103] George Washington Carver, letter to Mrs. Guy Holt, July 23, 1940, (quoted in Kremer, *George Washington Carver in His Own Words*, 167).
[104] Calvin Jefferson, Letter to Austin Curtis, April 6, 1939 (GWCNM).

It is also likely that there were no more than three or four grade levels of study available for the first several years the school was in use, and never more than six. Former student Calvin Jefferson recalled in 1948 that the school had five grades when he and George Washington Carver were in attendance in the 1870s, and there is no evidence that more grades were added later.[105] That would have been true for all public schools of the time, but probably more so for the African American school. A listing of teachers published in the Neosho paper in 1872 listed teachers in the white school by grade level, up to fourth grade, but documented just one teacher for the colored school.[106] If the white students were only being educated to the fourth grade, it is doubtful the black students would have been offered more, even assuming their teachers had the training.

An 1892 publication of the Neosho School board, speaking of the Neosho school system in general, noted that as late as 1886 "the school was scarcely known as a graded school."[107] Later interviews with former students and others who lived in Neosho when the school on Young Street was in operation indicate that at most, classes "went as high as 6th grade," as described by the son of J. W. Harlow, who taught there in the late 1880s.[108]

African American Education in Neosho: 1878-1952

The Neosho Colored School remained in operation until 1891. It was often, but not always, the only school for African Americans in Neosho. (See Figure 26.) By 1881, the number of potential students had increased enough to merit a second school black school, which appears to have operated intermittently in the 1880s. That school was located several blocks to the north of the Neosho Colored School, in Martling, which was also known as Neosho City or Newtown. It was platted as Neosho City, but given the Post Office name of Martling, to avoid confusion. (The name Martling is used in this document for the same reason.) Martling was established just over a mile north of the original Neosho town square shortly after the Pacific and Atlantic Railroad built tracks through the county in 1870.[109] Henning's Addition to Neosho, which was the site of the Neosho Colored School, was platted between the two towns in 1870.[110] Martling never developed much of a commercial center, and in 1881, it was absorbed into Neosho proper, as the Third Ward of Neosho.[111] Martling and Henning's Addition had a concentration of African American residents in the late nineteenth century, as well as at least three or four churches that had black congregations. It is not clear if the area became popular with black families in part because the Neosho Colored School was there, or if the school was located there because there were already African American families living in the area. It was likely a bit of both.

[105] Calvin Jefferson, Letter to Austin Curtis, April 6, 1939.
[106] *The Neosho Times*, Sept 19, 1872, 4.
[107] Neosho Superintendent of Schools, *Course of Study: Neosho Public Schools*, 21.
[108] Tuskegee Field Notes, "Interview with J. F. 'Doc' Harlow," May 28, 1948, GWCNM Library.
[109] *Goodspeed's History of Newton County,*136. Neosho City was incorporated in Feb. 1871.
[110] *Goodspeed's History of Newton County*, 45.
[111] *Goodspeed's History of Newton County*,136.

Figure 26. Teachers and Class Sizes for African American Schools in Neosho, 1867-92.

Chart by Debbie Sheals.

School Year	No. of Black Students in the Neosho School(s)	Teacher	No. of Black Schools in Neosho	No. of Black Schools in Newton County	Source	Notes
1866-67	51 (entire county)				Goodspeed, p. 104.	County Supt report noted only 9 schools in entire county. There were 2,618 white and 51 black children of school age.
1867-68				1, located in Newtonia.	*Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Schools*-1869. (1867-68 Stats)	First year a public school for black students is known to have operated in Newton County.
1868-69				2 (total of 80 students)	4th Annual State Report-pub 1870	
1869-70 May be first black school in Neosho.	23		1	2 or 3 (total of 108 students)	5th Annual State Report –pub 1871 (Includes city statistics.)	Typescript at park with this date has 108 students in 2 school houses. Also says there are three schools, one apparently private.
1870-71				1	6th Annual Report – 1872	
1871-72		Mrs. Scoles, Feb and July, 1872.	1	5	7th Annual Report – 1873; Goodspeed, 158.	Four black schools added this year. One of the black schools in the county also had a black teacher.
1872-73		Mrs. Scoles fall, Mrs. Danforth, Jan. 1873 term.	1	3	8th Annual Report – 1874; Neosho Times	Young St. house purchased Sept. 1872.
1873-74	**30** (April 1874)	**Mrs. M. C. (Florence) Fry fall 1873, S. S. Frost Jan. 1874**	1	3	Neosho Times. Goodspeed. P. 159; Neosho Times.	Goodspeed says white and black schools discontinued for a time, probably late 1873.
1874-75		**Mrs. Scoles fall term, Stephen Frost, Jan 1875 term.**	1	2 (total of 84 students)	Neosho Times, Annual Report – pub 1876	Note in Neosho paper says school district was reduced by the elimination of the area north of Neosho—this could mean Martling.
1875-76		**Stephen Frost**	1	2	Neosho Times, James *Buzzard Glory,* 5.	Note: Fuller and Mattes say successive issues indicate he taught until 1884. p. 42.
1876-77	**75, est.**	**Stephen Frost**			Card to GWC, dated Dec. 22nd, 1876. Cal Jefferson [letter 4-6-1939]	Card on file at monument has Frost's signature. Number of students is from Jefferson, may be high.
1877-78	**23, approx.**	**Stephen Frost**		5 (115 students)	Fuller and Mattes, p 42.	Number of students based on an average of county totals.
1878-79		**Stephen Frost**			Fuller and Mattes, p 42.	Carver was in Fort Scott this year.
1879-80	**62, avg. attendance 47**	**Stephen Frost**	1		*Neosho Miner and Mechanic*, 2-5-1880, p. 1.	The paper said Frost had that many students. It has been assumed he was teaching on Young St.
1880-81		**Stephen Frost**	1	5	Fuller and Mattes, p. 42.	Frost to a state teachers' conference this year, per Jobe.
1881-82		**Stephen Frost**	1 in Neosho, 1 in Martling	6	A. A. Gowne, 2/13/1956 Oral History, GWCNM.	A black school was supposed to be in operation across from St. James Hotel, ca. 1881.
1882-83		**Stephen Frost**	1	3	Goodspeed, p. 159	Interview with former student Lena King, 3-9-1955, park files said she had Frost as a teacher around this time.

Figure 26. continued

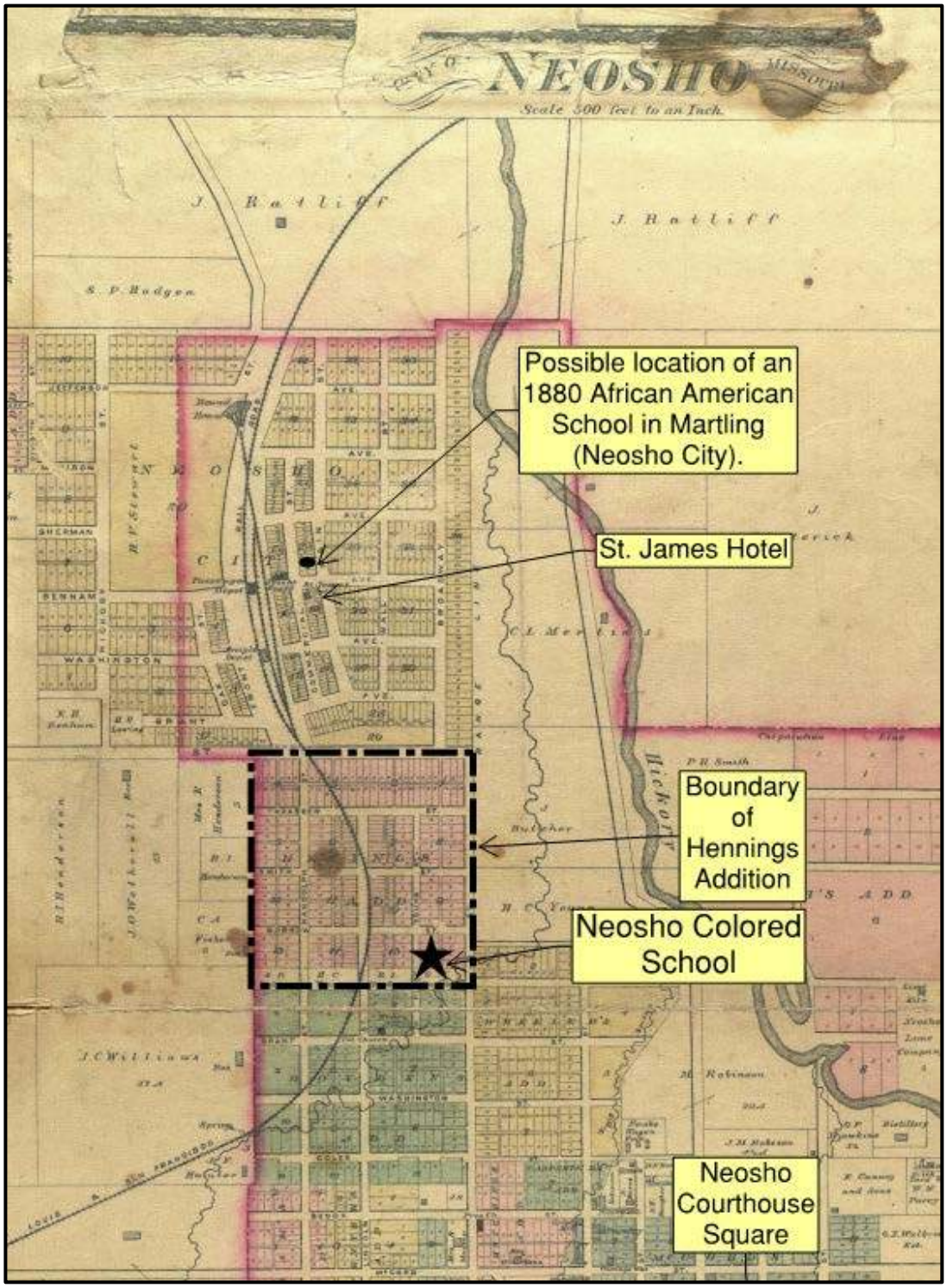
School Year	# of Students	Teacher	No. of Black Schools in Neosho	No. of Black Schools in Newton County	Source	Notes
1883-84	**162**	**A. W. Williams, replaced by J. W. Harlow**	1	10	Goodspeed, p. 159.	
1885-86		**J. W. Harlow**	1		State Supt report.; Goodspeed	Stephen Frost began a term as pastor for the Washington Ave Baptist Church in Springfield this year.
1886-87	**28**	**Mrs. E. Boyd**	1		1892 Neosho Supt. Report.	284 black students in entire county, per Goodspeed p. 105.
1887-88	**22**	**J. W. Harlow**	1		1892 Neosho Supt. Report.	
1888-89	**23**	**J. W. Harlow**	1	1 in Martling, per Goodspeed	1892 Neosho Supt. Report.; Goodspeed	W. R. McLane teacher in Martling.
1889-90	**21**	**Stephen Frost**	1		1892 Neosho Supt. Report.	
1890-91	**25-44**	**Stephen Frost**	1		1892 Neosho Supt. Report., James, Wildcat History.	
1891-92	91	Stephen Frost, principal; Miss Tennie Young	1		1892 Neosho Supt. Report.	New Lincoln School, two teachers, two classrooms.
1895			1	7	State Supt. Report.	Lincoln School 1.
1900			1	7	State Supt. Report.	Lincoln School 1.

A list of teachers and schools published in the 1888 Goodspeed county history shows that there were two black schools in operation in the area at that time. The school on Young Street was open for a seven-month term, and there was also an African American school in Martling, which had a five-month term.[112] The school in Martling, which appears to have also occupied a former house, may have been in operation off and on for several years. Mrs. A. A. Gowen, a white woman who moved to Neosho as a girl around 1881, recalled that when she moved to town, "there was a colored school located just across the street from the St. James Hotel.…The school used by the colored people was a dwelling rented for school purposes."[113] It does not appear that the building used as a school in Martling has survived.

[112] *Goodspeed's History of Newton County*,107.
[113] Fuller, "Interview with Mrs. A. A. Gowen," February 13, 1956, GWCA Files.

Figure 27. Map of the north part of Neosho, showing the location of African American schools of the 1880s.

Base map from *Edwards' Historical Atlas of Newton County, Missouri, 1882*.
Philadelphia, PA: Edwards Bros. of Missouri, 1882.



The school in Martling was apparently in operation for just a year or two, and the Neosho Colored School on Young Street continued to be the most prominent, and generally the only, African American school in Neosho. Until the early 1890s, the school on Young Street was one of just two publicly owned school buildings in Neosho. The other was Central School, which was for white students only. Central School was a very large brick building located on a hilltop overlooking the Neosho Public Square.[114] By 1891, Central School was used by more than 400 white students, and the Neosho Colored School served 44 black pupils.[115] Even taking into account the large differences in enrollment, the white schoolhouse offers a striking contrast in quality to the small frame school on Young Street.

Figure 28. Central School, Neosho, ca. 1883. Central School expanded several times before the end of the century.
Photo courtesy of Larry James.

Later African American Schools in Neosho: 1891-1950

The school on Young Street closed in 1891, when students moved into a new building in Martling that was constructed specifically to be used as a black school. The former school on Young Street probably sat empty or was used for storage until February 18, 1893, when

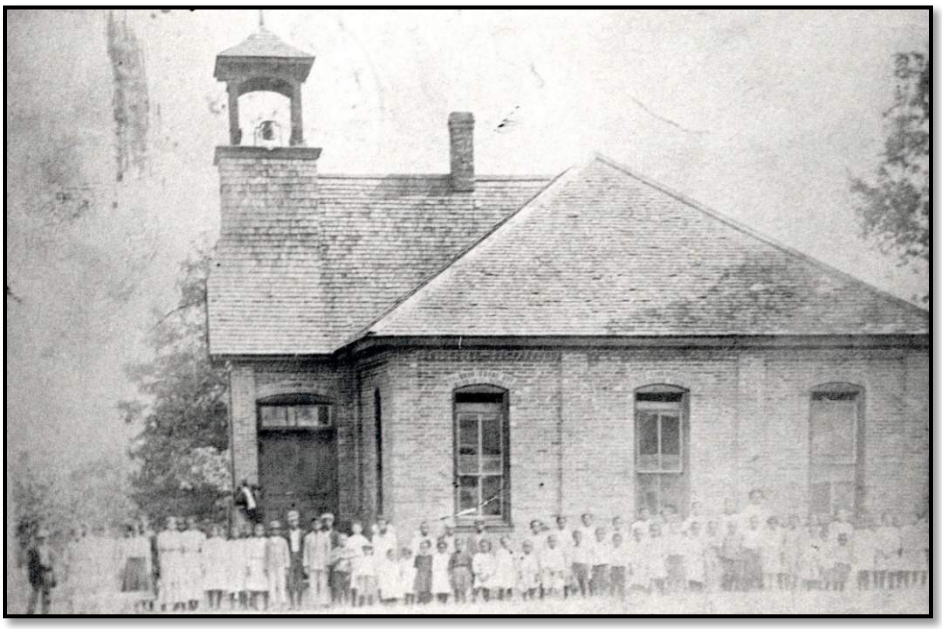
[114] Larry James, *Here's to the Black and Gold*, 14-15.
[115] Larry James, *Wildcat History*, 24.

the school board sold that property. [116] The small frame building that served as the Neosho Colored School for nearly two decades was returned to residential use, a function it retained into the twenty first century.

The new African American schoolhouse, which was named Lincoln School, was a great improvement over the tiny former house on Young Street. It was built of brick, with two classrooms, and a tall bell tower.[117] (See Figure 29.) The school was built during a spate of local school construction and expansion. A new school house for white children was completed in the Third Ward in 1891, the same year that Lincoln School opened.

Lincoln School was apparently very well received; enrollment jumped from 25 in the 1890-91 school year, to 95 in 1891-92.[118] The new school house had two rooms, one for grades 1-3 and another for grades 4-6. Although the school board officially accepted the new building on Jan. 1, 1892, it may have gone into service before then, since the school board reported the large class size for the full school year. Lincoln School had a larger staff as well. Stephen Frost, who had returned to his position as the teacher at the Neosho Colored School in 1889, served as the first principal of Lincoln School, and he also taught grades 4 through 6. He was assisted by Miss Tennie Young, who taught grades 1 through 3.[119]

Figure 29. The First Lincoln School in Neosho. This photo was probably taken not long after the school opened in 1891.
Photo courtesy of Larry James.



[116] Newton County Deed Records, *Book 35*, 92.
[117] Neosho Superintendent of Schools. *Course of Study: Neosho Public Schools*, 24.
[118] Neosho Superintendent of Schools, *Course of Study: Neosho Public Schools,* 24.
[119] Neosho Superintendent of Schools, *Course of Study: Neosho Public Schools,* 24, and Jobe, *A History of Newton County as Portrayed in the Courthouse Mural*, 87.

The original Lincoln School served as the town's only African American School for half a century. In 1940, it was replaced with a new building, which was also named Lincoln School. The new school building was built with the help of the WPA, which also funded construction of a new white school, Field School. The second Lincoln School was completed in January 1941, and dedicated April 18, 1941.[120] It was located just a few yards south of the 1890s school building, which was taken out of service as a school, but left in place. The brick schoolhouse was being used for storage in 1947, and was later remodeled for residential use.[121]

For a while in the early twentieth century, the Lincoln Schools housed grades 1-8, and black high school students were bussed to Joplin.[122] Finally, in 1953, nearly a century after African Americans were given the legal right to an education, the schools of Neosho were desegregated.[123] Both Lincoln School buildings have survived, and with the Neosho Colored School, they offer an unusually complete collection of African American schools. Together, they represent the entire history of segregated education in Neosho.

Figure 30. Neosho's Second Lincoln School.
Photo courtesy of Larry James.

[120] Larry James, *Wildcat History, 123-125.*
[121] Sanborn Map of Neosho, 1947, 11.
[122] Jobe, *A History of Newton County Missouri as Portrayed in the Courthouse Mural*, 87.
[123] Jobe, *Courthouse Mural*, 87.

Carver's Continued Quest for Knowledge: African American Education in Kansas

When George Washington Carver's early schoolhouse in Neosho was taken out of service in 1891, he was still working on an education. By the time the Neosho school closed in 1891, Carver had lived in at least nine other towns, worked his way through four public schools to complete high school, attended a business college, and a small Methodist college. In the summer of 1891, he moved to Ames, Iowa to attend the Iowa Agricultural College and Model Farm (now Iowa State University), and he graduated from that institution with a Bachelor of Agriculture in 1894, and a Master of Science in 1896. (See Figures 31 and 32.)

Carver's time in the public schools of Kansas offers an impressive profile of tenacity. He was no more than 13 or 14 when he moved to Fort Scott ca. 1878. Over the next decade he supported himself via a variety of jobs, picking up new work every time he changed residences in search of better schools. In almost every instance, he knew few, if any people in the towns to which he moved, but had no trouble developing new relationships. Throughout his tenure in the public schools of Kansas, his desire to learn remained a priority, and he repeatedly packed up and moved—alone—to new towns and new schools.

African American Education in Kansas

As a famous free state located just a few dozen miles away, Kansas no doubt offered an attractive option to young Carver. His move to Fort Scott took place early in the era of the Exodus, when natives of Missouri made up a large percentage of the African Americans who had migrated to the Free State.[124] Carver may have heard stories of favorable conditions in the neighboring state from neighbors in Neosho, or may simply have seized on the opportunity when he met a family headed in that direction that was willing to take him along.

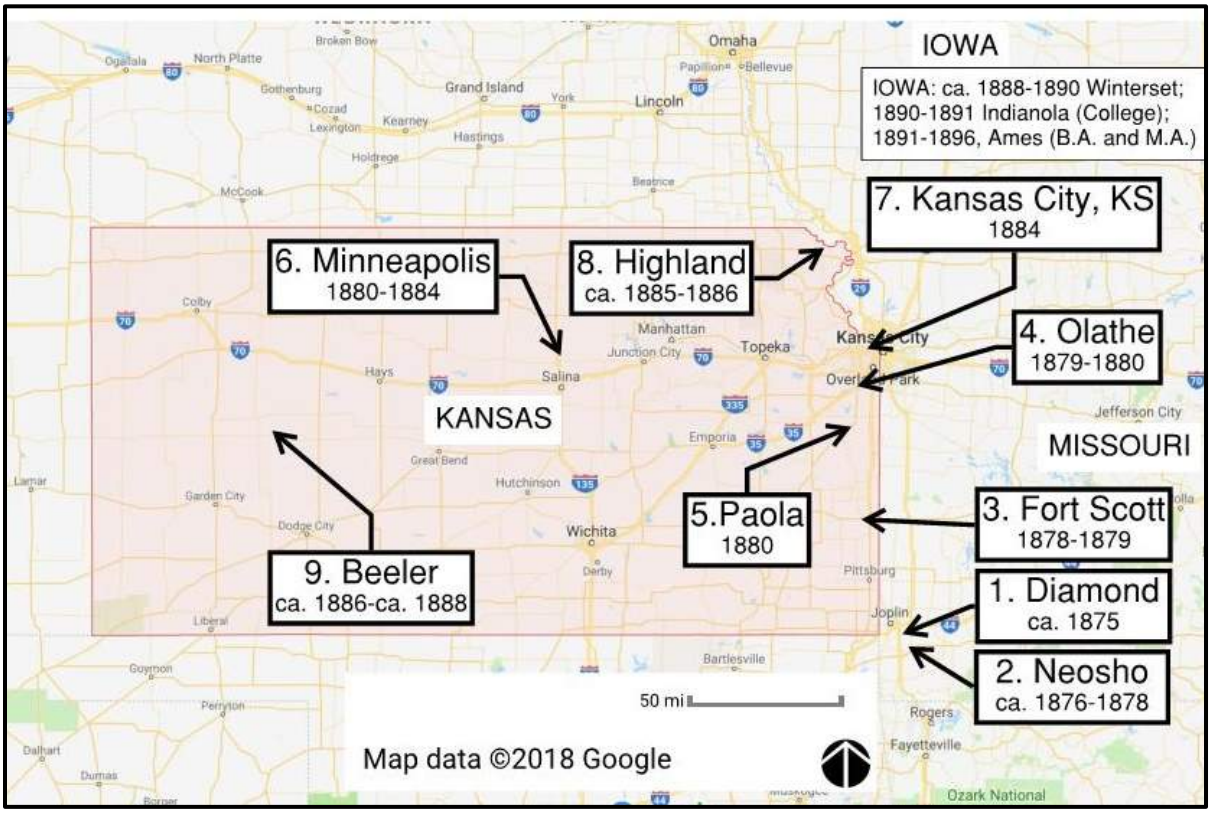
At the time Carver moved to Fort Scott, Kansas had a law on its books to allow larger towns in the state to establish separate elementary schools for blacks and whites.[125] That law, which was enacted in 1868, reversed earlier legislation that was, at least on its face, color blind. Territorial statutes of the 1850s had decreed that schools "shall be free and without charge for tuition for all children between the age of five and twenty-one years."[126] The original territorial law of 1855 specified free schools were for whites only, but the word "white" was removed from the law in 1858. That provision carried over into state law when Kansas gained statehood in 1861, but in 1868 it was changed to include a clause that allowed for segregated primary schools, as long as they offered "equal educational advantage."[127]

[124] Painter, *Exodusters,* 146.
[125] Kim Cary Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 100.
[126] Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the State Superintendent for the School Years Ending July 31, 1877, and 1878*, (Topeka, Kansas: Geo Martin Publishing House, 1879), 37-38.
[127] Warren, *Quest for Citizenship*, 104.

Figure 31. Towns and Schools of George Washington Carver's Quest for Knowledge
Jason Gart, *He Shall Direct Thy Paths: The Early Life of George W. Carver, (*George Washington Carver National Monument, Diamond, Missouri, National Park Service, U.S Department of the Interior, 2014.)

Years	Town	School Name/ Activities	Citations
ca. 1875	Locust Grove, Newton County, MO	Locust Grove School (few days)	Gart, 54.
1876-ca. 1878	Neosho, Newton County MO	Neosho Colored School	Gart, 59.
ca. 1878-1879	Fort Scott, Bourbon County, KS	Fort Scott Colored School	Gart, 64.
1879-1880	Olathe, Johnson County, KS	Stone School	Gart, 66.
1880	Paola, Miami County, KS	Possibly Paola Normal School	Gart, 66.
1880-1884	Minneapolis, Ottawa County, KS	High school	Gart, 67.
1884	Kansas City, Johnson County, KS	Business College	Gart, 71.
1885	Highland, KS	Denied entrance to college	Gart, 72.
1886-1888	Beeler, KS	Homesteading	Gart, 73.
1888-1890	Winterset, Iowa	Cook, Running Laundry	Gart, 77.
1890-1891	Indianola, Iowa	Simpson College	Gart, 77-78.
1891-1896	Ames, Iowa	Bachelor of Agriculture and Master of Science	Gart, 83-94.

Figure 32. Map of Towns and Schools of George Washington Carver's Quest for Knowledge.
Base map via Google Maps, 2018.



Although Kansas never developed a significant population of African Americans (whites numbered close to 95% throughout the nineteenth century), the state did see high levels of black migration with the Exodus. By the early twentieth century, Kansas had the highest percentage of African Americans outside of the former slave states.[128] As the numbers of black residents increased, so did racial tensions, along with legal and de facto segregation. One history of the period noted that as "the population of blacks increased, more laws encouraged segregation" while others were ambiguous enough that they did not prohibit it either.[129] Reports of the Kansas Department of Public Education reflect those changing attitudes towards race. From 1877 to 1895, official enumerations counted all children, with no separation by race, as was common in Missouri reports of the same time period. After 1895, however, enrollment figures were divided into "White" and "Colored."[130]

Over the next 75 years, educational opportunities for blacks varied widely in Kansas. Some towns, like Olathe, Wichita, and Lawrence maintained integrated schools into at least the 1890s, while other communities established segregated school systems. Fort Scott, for example, went out of its way to legalize segregated schools. In 1887 the town moved to change its status from a second-class city to a first-class one specifically to take advantage of a state law that allowed segregated school in first class municipalities.[131] Finally, in 1954, the Supreme Court decision in the Topeka, Kansas case of *Brown v Board of Education* ended legal segregation in Kansas and the rest of the country.

In the decade that George Washington Carver lived in Kansas, he experienced a wide range of social and educational conditions, ranging from shocking encounters with racism to numerous act of kindness from strangers both black and white. Through it all, he displayed a steadfast resilience and a never-ending desire to gain an education.

Carver in Fort Scott, Kansas: ca. 1878-1879

Carver's first school in Kansas was located in Fort Scott, which is just under 100 miles from Neosho. He later noted that he had not chosen Fort Scott for any particular reason, other than the fact that he could get a ride there with an African American family who was passing through Neosho. In 1927 he told a biographer that he moved simply because "I was anxious to go anywhere that I could to get better school facilities."[132]

Those facilities were located in a former military hospital on the grounds of the original Fort Scott, the Army outpost for which the town was named. (See Figures 33 and 34.) The former hospital building had been used as a school in the 1850s and 60s, but it returned to military service during the Civil War. After the war, it was put back in service as a school. It appears

[128] Warren, *Quest for Citizenship,* 99.
[129] Warren, *Quest for Citizenship,* 100.
[130] Kansas State Superintendent of Public Education, Biennial Reports, 1877-1900. (On file at the Kansas State Archives.)
[131] Warren, *Quest for Citizenship*, 105.
[132] Quoted in Gart, *He Shall Direct Thy Paths*, 63.

to have been open only to white students until 1871 or 1872, when a large new brick school named Central School was constructed for the white children of the community.[133] With the completion of Central School, the former hospital became the public school for African Americans, a function it retained until at least 1884. It was known simply as the "Colored School" during that time period.[134] That original hospital and school building was demolished between 1917 and 1925, but it has been reconstructed and is now part of the Fort Scott National Historic Site.[135]

Figure 33. Fort Scott Colored School.

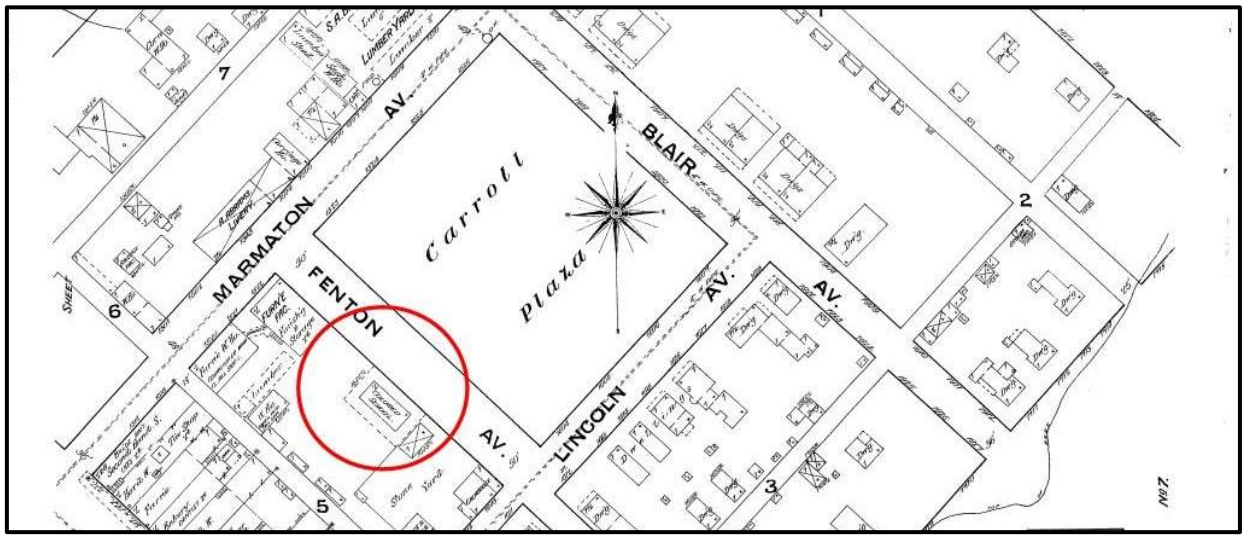
Photo taken before 1868. The lower floor of this building housed an African American school from 1872-1884. From the collections of the Fort Scott National Historic Site.

Figure 34. Central School, Fort Scott.

This building was constructed in 1871 for the white students of the community. From *Pictorial Ft. Scott*, 184.

[133] "A Complete History of Fort Scott's School Buildings," *Fort Scott Tribune* (Fort Scott, KS), May 30, 1942.
[134] Sanborn Map, *Map of Fort Scott, Kansas*, 1884, 3, "City School Report," *Fort Scott Weekly Monitor* (Fort Scott, KS), Sept. 19, 1878.
[135] Lee E. Oliva, *Fort Scott*, Topeka, Kansas: Kansas State Historical Society, ii-iii.

Figure 35. Sanborn Map of Fort Scott, showing location of the "Colored School."
Later Sanborn maps show that this building was demolished between 1917 and 1925.
Sanborn maps, Fort Scott, Kansas, 1884-1947.



The four-room school in the former hospital replaced a more modest "Freedmen's School," a one-room school that was operated by the Northwestern Freedmen's Aid Commission of Chicago from 1865-1872.[136] The Freedmen's school served African Americans of all ages; children attended during the day and adults went to evening classes. That building was also located on the grounds of the old fort, in a frame building that sat in the back yard of former officer's quarters on the north side of the plaza.[137]

While Carver was living in Fort Scott, he established a routine that was to become typical of his time in Kansas. He found one or more jobs to support himself, and made friends with established residents of the community. He later wrote of that time that "Every year I went to school, supporting myself by cooking and doing all kinds of house work in private families."[138] In Fort Scott, he took in laundry for patrons of the Wilder House hotel, and did housework for Isaac Stadden, a white grocer who lived at 112 S. Judson Street.[139] He lived with Felix Payne, a well-regarded African American blacksmith.[140] Payne was described in an 1879 article in the local paper as one "of our very best workmen."[141]

Carver also had the opportunity to become part of the local African American community, through his relationship with Payne and others. At the time, Fort Scott was seeing an influx

[136] "Free to Learn: African American Schools at Fort Scott," National Park Service, last modified April 10, 2015, https://www.nps.gov/fosc/learn/historyculture/freetolearn.htm.
[137] "Free to learn," 2015.
[138] George Washington Carver, "A Brief Sketch of my Life" 1922, quoted in Kremer, *In His Own Words*, 23.
[139] Fuller and Mattes, *The Early Life of George Washington Carver,* 50, and Ancestry 1880 census record.
[140] Gary R. Kremer, *George Washington Carver: A Biography* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Biographies, 2011), 17.
[141] "Bronze Statutes," *Fort Scott Weekly Monitor* (Fort Scott: KS) Feb. 20, 1879.

of new black residents; the African American population of Bourbon County more than doubled 1870 and 1880, from 770 people to more than 1,700, and a large number of those new residents settled in Fort Scott.[142] That influx could have spurred an increase in racial tension which in March, 1879, erupted in the horrific lynching of Bill Howard, a black man accused of rape.[143] Carver came across that mob murder while on an errand, and was so traumatized by the spectacle that he immediately packed his belongings and moved 82 miles north, to Olathe, Kansas.

Carver in Olathe, Kansas: 1879-1880

Olathe is located in Johnson County, just southwest of Kansas City. The town had a small, but growing African American community when Carver moved there. In 1870, Olathe had just 137 African American residents, approximately 4% of the total population, but by the time of Carver's arrival, that percentage had increased to 16% of the total.[144]

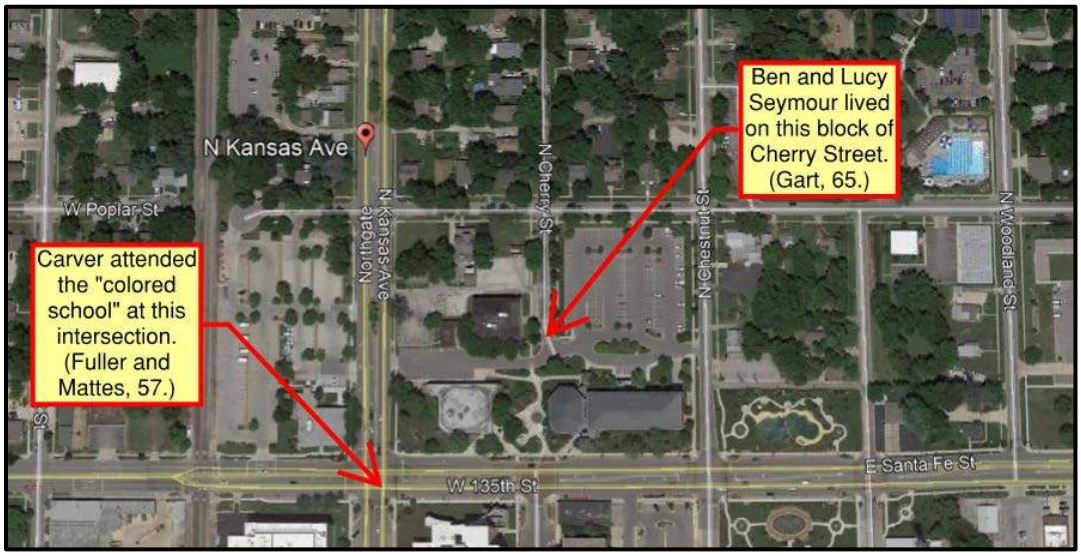
Carver soon found a place in the black community; while in Olathe, he lived with Ben and Lucy Seymour, a middle aged African American couple who were later described by Carver biographer Linda McMurry as Carver's "second set of black parents."[145] (Another source claimed that Carver lived with Jerry Johnson, a barber, who may have been Lucy Seymour's brother, but mulitple sources put him at the Seymour house.)[146] Continuing the pattern established in Fort Scott, Carver worked odd jobs to pay for his living expenses. He worked with Lucy Seymour in her laundry business, and also took jobs cooking and shining shoes. Lucy Seymour may have reminded him of his first black "foster mother", Mariah Watkins. Like Watkins, she operated her own business, was well-regarded in the community, and was devoutly religious.[147] She may have introduced him to the local Methodist church, where he taught a Sunday school class while living in Olathe.[148]

The Seymours were also like the Watkins in that they lived very close to a black school at the time. They lived on Cherry Street, just north of Santa Fe Street, and there was a black school less than a block away, across from a plaza at the intersection of Kansas and Santa Fe Streets.[149] (See Figure 36.) The location of the black school was provided by Rashey B. Moten, a friend and classmate of Carver's who was interviewed by NPS historians in 1955. Moten specifically mentioned the location of the school and noted that it "had no name.

[142] Compendium of the Tenth Census 1880, *Part I*, 349, and Kremer, *George Washington Carver*, 18.
[143] "Tremendous Tragedy: A Mad Mob Drags the Demon Down to Death," *Fort Scott Daily Monitor*, March 27, 1879, 4.
[144] Ninth Census Volume I the Statistics of the Population of the United States, *Population of Civil Divisions Less Than Counties Table III*, 1872, and Kremer, *George Washington Carver,* 19.
[145] McMurry, *George Washington Carver: Scientist & Symbol*, 23.
[146] Fuller and Mattes, *The Early Life of George Washington Carver*, 56-57.
[147] McMurry, *George Washington Carver: Scientist & Symbol*, 24.
[148] Kremer, *George Washington Carver,* 19.
[149] The Seymour house location is noted in Gart, *He Shall Direct Thy Paths,* 65; The school location is identified in Fuller and Mattes, *The Early Life of George Washington Carver*, 57.

Was just the colored school."[150] He also recalled that Carver's love of nature often got in the way of their games: "He and I would be playing marbles, and he'd say, 'Oh! Rash, look what a beautiful leaf. Look at these trees', and I waited many times."[151]

Figure 36. Map showing the locations of the Colored School and the Seymour Residence in Olathe, ca. 1880. Neither the house nor school building has survived.
Base Map from Google Earth, May 2018.



Moten's recollection of the school location appears to clarify early questions about just where Carver attended classes in Olathe. Although several sources assert that he was a student at Stone School, a two-story stone school that was built in 1868 at Lulu and Water Streets, that does not appear to have been the case. Stone School did accommodate both black and white students in the early 1880s (apparently in separate classrooms), but there was also a second black school at the time, which was described in one source as "the one built later in the Negro section of Olathe."[152] The separate black school was mentioned in the Olathe newspaper in 1880, in a short notice that the "colored school is prospering finely, the average daily attendance being between 25 and 30."[153] It is very likely that Carver attended classes in that second school, which Rashey described as having occupied a rented property. Rashey noted that he and his classmates used the first floor of that

[150] Interview with Rashey B. Moten, Dec. 9, 1955, quoted in Fuller and Mattes, *The Early Life of George Washington Carver*, 56-57.
[151] Interview with Rashey B. Moten, Dec. 9, 1955, quoted in Fuller and Mattes, *The Early Life of George Washington Carver,* 57.
[152] Letter from Jessie Guzman, director of the George Washington Carver Foundation, 1940s, Tuskegee, Alabama, quoted in Fuller and Mattes, *The Early Life of George Washington Carver,* 55-56.
[153] "The Colored School is Prospering," *Olathe Gazette* (Olathe: KS), Sept. 30, 1880.

building, and the second floor was used as a lodge hall.[154] Neither of those early school buildings have survived.

Carver in Paola, Kansas: 1880

In early 1880, the Seymours left Olathe to settle in the western Kansas town of Minneapolis, and George Carver moved about 25 miles south of Olathe, to Paola. The community was similar to Olathe at the time, with a population of just over 2,000 people. Paola is in Miami County, which had recently experienced significant growth in its African American population when Carver moved there. Between 1870 and 1880, the number of black residents of the county jumped from 466 to 808, while the overall white population dropped slightly, from 11,248 to 10,001.[155]

Carver found housing in Paola with another black couple, Willis and Delila Moore, and he was living with them on East Miami Street at the time of the 1880 population census.[156] The census lists thirty-five year old Willis Moore's occupation as laborer; Delilah Moore, thirty-six was listed as "keeping house," and fifteen year old Carver was listed as "works in laundry." Carver was the only boarder in the extended household, which included Willis Moore's mother and nephew, as well as the Moore's two children. The census also shows that Carver had been enrolled in school within the past year.

Carver appears to have had a choice of schools in Paola when he arrived in 1880. There was at least one "colored school," which had a healthy enrollment of 90 students that year.[157] There was also a large Normal School. (See Figure 37.) Carver appears to have chosen the latter; he wrote in 1897 that after he left Olathe, he went "on to Paola Normal School…"[158] The Normal School offered a distinct contrast to the schools he had attended up to that time. It was located in a large three story brick building, and had an array of class offerings and no apparent restrictions as to race. A catalogue for the Normal School published in 1882 described it as being open to "all persons of school age living in the school district, who are educated in any of the departments free of tuition."[159]

That statement offered a distinct contrast to opinions voiced in the late 1850s when community leaders in Paola first attempted to set up a school system. A description of an 1859 organizing meeting for the school system noted that once the reason for calling the meeting was stated, "the crowd, a large majority of whom were pro-slavery men and former

[154] Interview with Rashey B. Moten, Dec. 9, 1955, quoted in Fuller and Mattes, *The Early Life of George Washington Carver,* 57.
[155] *Compendium of the Tenth Census 1880*, *Part I*, 350.
[156] U. S. Population Census Records, 1880, Paola, Kansas, accessed May 29, 2018. The census entry for the Moore household was made June 14, 1880.
[157] "The Enrollment," *The Western Spirit* (Olathe: KS), Nov. 12, 1880.
[158] George Washington Carver, "1897 or Thereabouts" ca. 1897, quoted in Kremer, *In His Own Words*, 21.
[159] *Semi-Annual Catalogue Kansas Normal School Business Institute: Paola, Kansas, (*Leavenworth, KS: Ketcheson, Hubbell, Steam Printers and Engravers, 1882) 6.

residents of slave states" encouraged a speech from a lawyer named G. W. Miller, who apparently opposed any form of public education. He is said to have "bitterly denounced the free school system of the north as a hot-bed of Abolitionists."[160] Although Miller and others of like mind prevailed during that meeting, pro-education forces eventually won the argument. A local school district was organized in 1861, the first school building in Paola was completed in 1865, and by the early 1870s there were several school buildings in Paola.[161]

Those educational offerings were greatly expanded when the Paola Normal School opened in 1878. The Normal School had a several different departments. The Normal Department focused on teaching prospective teachers the standards—or norms—of education, and there was also a Business Department and a Department of Elocution and Oratory. There were also two departments for younger or less advanced students: the Academic Department, which appears to have been something like a high school, with a goal to get students ready for "the best Colleges and Universities", and the Preparatory Department, which the catalogue explained was "Designed to meet the needs of those persons who have had very poor advantages, and who desire to prepare themselves for other departments of the school."[162] It is likely that Carver attended classes in one or both of those departments during his short tenure in Paola. As progressive as the Paola Normal school was, Carver did not stay long; in late June or early July of 1880, he moved to Minneapolis, Kansas to reunite with the Seymour family.[163]

Figure 37. The Paola Normal School in 1882. Sanborn maps show that the building occupied the southeast corner of Pearl and Osage Streets; it is no longer extant.
Semi-Annual Catalogue Kansas Normal School Business Institute, (Leavenworth, KS: Ketcheson, Hubbell, Steam Printers and Engravers, 1882), 6.

[160] E.W. Robinson, "A Short History of School District No. 21," Kansas Teacher and Western School Journal Vol. XLIII, (No. 1), 21.
[161] Robinson, "A Short History", 21.
[162] *Semi-Annual Catalogue Kansas Normal School Business Institute,* 6.
[163] He left between June 14, when the census record was made, and July 29, 1880, when he took out a bank loan in Minneapolis. Fuller and Mattes, *The Early Life of George Washington Carver,* 58.

Carver in Minneapolis, Kansas: 1880-1884

Carver's journey to Minneapolis was his longest to date; Minneapolis is just under 200 miles from Paola. It is the seat of Ottawa County, and in 1880 was home to one third of the county's residents. The 1880 population of approximately 1,000 was overwhelmingly white—there were less than two dozen African Americans in the community at the time and no more than 68 in the entire county.[164]

After arriving in Minneapolis, Carver lived behind a drug store for a while and later moved back in with the Seymours. The Seymours were living in a small house on Second Street, which was the main commercial street in the community.[165] Ben Seymour was working as a farmer and Lucy Seymour was a nurse for Dr. James McHenry, a white physician. McHenry's daughter, Carlotta Nell Barker, later recalled that Carver took care of the doctor's horse and served as a driver for him. Carver also set up a laundry business in an abandoned shack, where he may also have lived at some point, and in 1883, he joined the Presbyterian Church of Minneapolis.[166] The church had both white and black members, which included the white family of Chester Rarig, a friend and classmate who recalled that George often joined the family for Sunday dinner after church.[167]

It was in Minneapolis that Carver concluded his public school career.[168] He may have attended more than one school over the four years he lived there, beginning with a two-story frame school located near the Presbyterian Church, just a half block north of Second Street. (See Figure 38.) It appears that all of the schools in town were integrated at the time. Nellie Davis Cawley, a white resident of Minneapolis a few years younger than Carver recalled attending classes in the same building as he, "I frequently saw him on the playground. He was in the class ahead of me."[169] She described the school as "a frame building with four rooms in two stories," which was located just south of the Presbyterian Church.

Another description of early schools noted that high school students attended classes in the "second story of the Pacific House" located on Mill Street north of the railroad. That description may refer to what was called the Parker House on the 1883 Sanborn map. (Figure 38.) It does not appear that the Minneapolis high school needed very much room; the first graduating class, in 1883, consisted of just three female students.[170] Although Carver is known to have attended high school in Minneapolis, it is not clear if he graduated.

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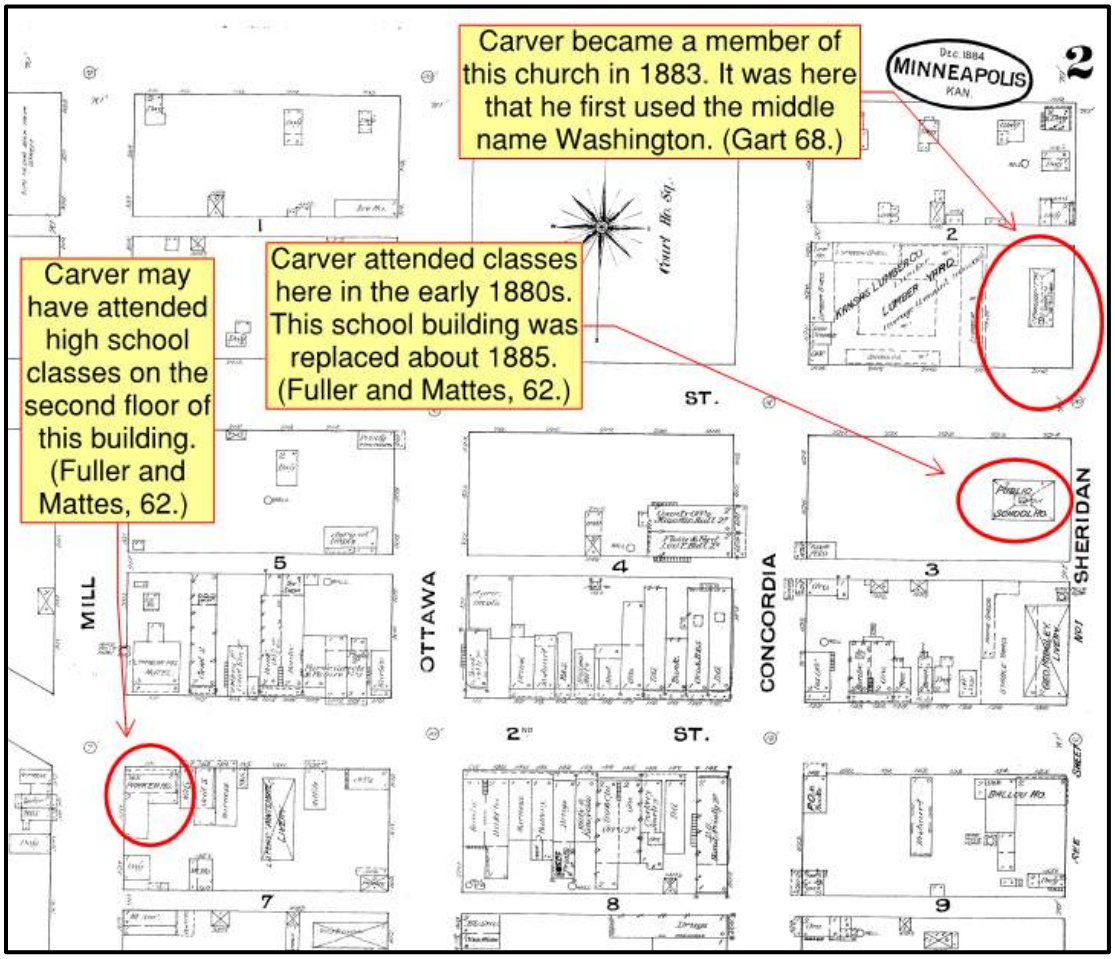
[164] Kremer, *In His Own Words,* 19, and Compendium of the Tenth Census 1880, *Part I*, 350.
[165] Gart, *He Shall Direct Thy Paths,* 67 and Sanborn Map, *Maps of Minneapolis, Kansas*, 1884, 2.
[166] Chester Rarig, June 18, 1956 letter quoted in Fuller and Mattes, *The Early Life of George Washington Carver,* 62-63.
[167] Rarig, June 18, 1956, and Gart, *He Shall Direct Thy Paths,* 68.
[168] The term public school is used here as a collective description of primary and secondary education.
[169] *History of Ottawa County, Kansas 1864-1984* (Ottawa County, KS: Centennial Committee, 1966), 160.
[170] "Commencement Exercises of Minneapolis High School," *Minneapolis Messenger* (Minneapolis, KS), June 5, 1984.

He wrote in a short biographical essay in 1897 that he "finished high school" and also studied Latin and Greek there, but in another note said that "I nearly finished my high school work" there.[171] Diploma or not, his time in Minneapolis marked the end of his time in public school, as well as a short venture into the real estate business.

Figure 38. Sanborn Map of Minneapolis, showing church and schools likely to have been attended by Carver. None of these buildings have survived.
Base map: Sanborn Map of Minneapolis, Kansas, 1883, 2.



Ottawa County records show that he was involved in several different business transactions while he lived in Minneapolis. He was able to secure a loan for $43 from the bank in Minneapolis soon after he arrived there, and he followed with another for $54.45 in September, and one for $156.45 in December.[172] It is believed that he used that money to fix up the abandoned shack which he used for his laundry business.[173] Although he did not own the real estate associated with that shack, he did later purchase and develop a small parcel on the edge of town. About the time he would have finished school, January, 1884,

[171] Kremer, *In His Own Words*, 21 and Fuller and Mattes, *The Early Life of George Washington Carver*, 63.
[172] Citizens National Bank records, cited in Fuller and Mattes, *The Early Life of George Washington Carver*, 58.
[173] Gart, *He Shall Direct Thy Paths*, 68.

Carver paid $100 for Lots 9 and 10 in Block 12 of MacKenzie's Second Addition to Minneapolis. Just ten months later, he sold the same lots for $500. The five-fold increase in value indicates that he had improved the property considerably in that ten month period, most likely by constructing a house or other type of building there. That was his last business transaction in Ottawa County; shortly after that sale, he once again packed his belongings and moved on, this time to Kansas City, Kansas.

Public School Buildings Associated with George Washington Carver

None of the Kansas public school buildings in which Carver attended classes is still in existence. The closest representation can be found in Fort Scott, where the building that held his school was demolished in the early 1900s but has since been reconstructed. It is part of the Fort Scott National Historic Site, and it presently interpreted for its role as an Army hospital. None of the schools Carver attended in Olathe, Paola or Minneapolis have survived.

Higher Education: 1884-1896

Carver's move to Kansas City ended his time in public schools, but not his desire to learn more. In Kansas City, he enrolled in a business college to train for a job as a stenographer, but as he later wrote, "the thirst for knowledge gained the mastery and I sought to enter College at Highland, Kans."[174] He applied by mail to Highland College and was accepted, and he once again changed places of residence in search of educational opportunities. He arrived in Highland, which is located north of Kansas City near the Iowa border, around 1885, at the approximate age of 20.

That trip brought him face to face with a stark reminder that intelligence and a strong desire to learn would not always win out. He was refused entrance to Highland College because of his race. As biographer Gary Kremer later wrote, "when he arrived on campus to register for classes, college officials hastened to correct their 'mistake,' assuring him that Highland College did not and would not accept 'colored' students.[175] The refusal put Carver in a bind, as he had spent all of his savings to get to Highland, and he was forced to open a laundry there to support himself. Ironically, many of his new customers were students at the college.[176] He later found work with members of the Beeler family, with whom he became fast friends. When the Beelers established the town of Beelerville in western Kansas, Carver moved west to join them.[177] He homesteaded there for a few years, but late in 1888, moved again, this time out of Kansas.

That move took him to Winterset, Iowa—the first of several Iowa communities he would call home over the next eight years. At the time, the population of Iowa was almost all white,

[174] George W. Carver, "1897 or Thereabouts," in Gary Kremer, *In his own Words, 21*.
[175] Kremer, *George Washington Carver: A Biography*, 21.
[176] George W. Carver, "A Brief Sketch of my Life," ca. 1922, in Gary Kremer, *In his own Words, 24.*
[177] Gart, *He Shall Direct Thy Paths, 72.*

with just 11,000 African Americans to nearly two million whites. The low numbers of people of color, along with a long history as a free state, may have contributed to low levels of racism, which in turn made it possible for him to continue his education. Carver soon made friends with a number of influential white residents of Iowa, including John and Helen Mullholland of Winterset.[178]They strongly believed he belonged in college, and went out of their way to see that he was enrolled. With their help, he was able to take classes at nearby Simpson College to complete his high school studies, and he went on to acquire course work for a Bachelor's and a Master's degree in the field of Agriculture.
In late 1896, some twenty years after he left the only home he had ever known to attend the Neosho Colored School, Carver was awarded a Master of Science in Agriculture from the Iowa Agricultural College and Model Farm, (now Iowa State University). When he completed graduate school in 1896, he was said to be the only African American in the country to hold an advanced degree in agricultural science.[179] A few months later, he joined the faculty of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute (now Tuskegee University), where he put that education to work during a professional career that spanned more than four decades.

Carver's long quest for education took place at a time when the nation was recovering from the effects of the Civil War. Carver was one of millions of African Americans who struggled to find a path to self-sufficiency and security in a country that was still trying to figure out how to live with changes wrought by the war. One of the most enduring legacies of Reconstruction was in the field of education, for whites and blacks. In 1847, it was illegal to even teach a black person the letters of the alphabet in the state of Missouri, and few southern states had any kind of public school system. By the time he completed his college career in 1896, all states had public school systems and most African Americans in Missouri and Kansas had access to free public schools. As George W. Carver learned, those schools were often not easy to get to, and very rarely equal to those offered to white children, but they did provide what Carver described as a "golden door to freedom" and a pathway to self-sufficiency.

[178] Gart, *He Shall Direct Thy Paths, 77.*
[179] Gart, *He Shall Direct Thy Paths,* 92.

Suggested Readings on African American Education and Carver's Early Life

Alvord, John W. *U.S. Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands: Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen*. Numbers 1-10, Jan. 1866-July 1870, Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. (Reprint edited by Robert C. Morris, New York: AMS Press, Inc. 1980.)

Anderson, James D. *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

Gart, Jason H. *He Shall Direct Thy Paths: The Early Life of George W. Carver.* Historic Resource Study, George Washington Carver National Monument, Diamond, Missouri. National Park Service, U.S Department of the Interior, 2014.

Kremer, Gary R. *George Washington Carver: A Biography*. Santa Barbara, Denver and London: Greenwood Biographies, 2011.

Timeline of Major Events 1865-1900

1865, January 31. U. S. Senate approved the Thirteenth Amendment, which ended slavery throughout the country.[180]

1865, ca. Feb 20. New Missouri Constitution requires the provision of free educational facilities for all children, including "colored children." [181]

1866 First report from John W. Alvord, Inspector of Schools and Finances, Freedmen's Bureau.[182]

1872 The work of the Freedmen's Bureau in the area of education in discontinued.

1872, Sept 16 Neosho School Board buys a "lot and building" (Lot 6, B 16 Henning's Addition) for a black school. It opens that same year as Neosho's first dedicated African American school house.

1873, July 10. Neosho Times names Mrs. M. C. Fry as teacher of the colored school, and notes that there is no school in Neosho City, so all kids to come to Neosho schools.

1875, ca. Carver and his brother were denied entrance to Locust Grove School, near the Carver farm. George Carver was later tutored by Steven L. Slane, the white teacher at Locust Grove School.

[180] Downs and Masur, *Era of Reconstruction*, 66.
[181] Williams, *School System*, 138.
[182] Alvord, *Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen*, January, 1866, 1.

1876 George Carver, then approximately 11 years old, moves alone to Neosho to attend the Neosho Colored School.

1878, ca. Carver moves to Fort Scott, Kansas in search of a better school.[183] He attended a segregated school in a former Army hospital. That building was demolished in the early 1900s, but later reconstructed.

1879 Carver moves to Olathe, Kansas. He makes friends with Ben and Lucy Seymour, a black couple. He attended a segregated school there.[184] That school was later demolished.

1880 Seymours leave Olathe, and Carver moves to Paola, Kansas. He lives with Willis and Delilah Moore, a black couple, and attends the Paola Normal School, which was integrated. The Paola Normal School building was later demolished.

1880-1884 Carver living in Minneapolis, Kansas. He finished high school there, in integrated schools, and lived with the Seymours part of that time.[185] Neither of the school buildings he attended there have survived.

1884-1885 Carver attended business school in Kansas City, Kansas. He applied to Highland University via mail and was accepted, but was rejected they learned he was African American.[186]

1886-88 Carver homesteading in Ness County, near Beelerville, Kansas.[187]

1888-90 Carver in Winterset, Iowa. Meets Dr. and Mrs. Mulholland, who induced Carver to enter Simpson College. [188]

1890-91 Carver attending Simpson College in Indianola, Iowa.

1891 New one story two-room brick school built for black students in Neosho.[189] Colored School on Young Street is closed.

1891-96 Carver living at Ames, Iowa, where he received B.A. and M.A. degrees from Iowa State University.

[183] Gart, *He Shall Direct Thy Paths*, 62.
[184] McMurry, *George Washington Carver: Scientist & Symbol*, 23.
[185] Fuller and Mattes, *The Early Life of George Washington Carver*, 56-57.
[186] Kremer, *George Washington Carver: A Biography*, 21.
[187] Gart, *He Shall Direct Thy Paths*, 72.
[188] Gart, *He Shall Direct Thy Paths*, 77.
[189] Jobe, *A History of Newton County as Portrayed in the Courthouse Mural*, 86.

D. The African American Community in Neosho: 1865-1900

The 1872 Neosho Colored School was a prominent part of Neosho's African American community throughout its nearly twenty year tenure as a schoolhouse. It provides an important link to the Reconstruction era in Neosho. Carver's move to Neosho brought not only his first extended experience with formal education, but also the first time he was part of a community of African Americans. That community included scores of African Americans who were adjusting to newfound freedom; of the 123 African Americans living in Neosho in 1870, 95 were born in a slave state before the end of the Civil War.[1] Between 1865 and 1900, more than 900 African Americans made their home in and around Neosho; some stayed for only a short time, and other families stayed for generations. Together, they established social networks and worked together to adjust to life after slavery. During that period, the local African American schools and churches were important social and cultural centers.

A Note about Sources

This section is heavily based upon a database of African Americans who lived in Neosho and Neosho Township between 1865 and 1900. The searchable database was created specifically for this project. It includes information from the U. S. Population Census' of 1870, 1880 and 1900, as well as numerous historical accounts.[2] The database contains just over 900 records, each of which has basic information about a different area resident, including birthdate, occupation, and years in school. It will be cited hereafter as the database or the "African-American Database," and the persons documented there will be referred to as the study group. **Unless otherwise noted all persons discussed in this chapter were African American.** Names of individuals are shown in bold at first mention for ease of reference.

Adjusting to Freedom

George Washington Carver moved to Neosho early in the era of Reconstruction. When he started going to school in Neosho, almost all of the African American adults he met there had lived through times in which they could be bought and sold as property. Like millions of other freedpeople of the time, black residents of Neosho were confronted with a range of challenges during Reconstruction. Once the initial euphoria of national emancipation waned, the magnitude of the trials faced by former slaves became apparent. As one description of Reconstruction in Missouri noted:

> Former slaves were thrust into a fundamentally new social, political, and economic situation. Innumerable obstacles presented themselves as they sought to adjust to a new way of life for which slavery had ill-prepared them.

[1] 1870 Census Records, Neosho and Neosho Township, Ancestry.com.
[2] There are no available 1890 census records.

> Without money, property or education, they tried to move into the mainstream of a highly competitive, literate and capitalistic society.[3]

After decades of treatment by whites which aimed to keep enslaved persons ignorant and isolated, many African Americans came to their new freedom with few basic life skills. Education had been widely banned to keep them from communicating with each other or reading Abolitionist propaganda, and as a result few could even sign their own names. Slaveholders had also prevented the development of social networks or other types of support systems for the enslaved. The practice of selling or hiring out individual members broke apart families and other alliances that would have helped freed persons adjust to a new way of life, in what one author aptly described as "social and familial fragmentation."[4] Additionally, the long-held prohibition of unsupervised gatherings by enslaved persons had not only limited social contact, it had removed opportunities for blacks to develop leadership abilities.

In many cases, freedom also meant overnight loss of access to food and shelter. Frederick Douglass wrote that the typical freeman "was free from the plantation but had nothing but the dusty road under his feet…he was turned loose naked, hungry, and destitute.[5] Some former slaves were turned away with little to no belongings, while others chose to leave simply because they could. Mary Divine, who was born in Tennessee in 1852, had a harsh introduction to freedom: she recalled that she and her fellow freedpeople were turned out with "nothin' at all. Put us out with just what we had on our backs."[6] William Black, who was born enslaved in Missouri and bonded out to another slaveholder at the age of eight, chose to leave on his own. "When we was freed our master didn't give us nothing, but some clothes and five dollars. He told us we could stay if we wanted to, but we was so glad to be free dat we all left him. He was a good man though."[7]

In spite of those handicaps, freedpeople embraced the chance to make a life for themselves, and many spent the years immediately following the war moving from place to place in search of new opportunities. Missouri freedman Gus Smith noted that "After slavery, we did not know what to do. Most of the slaves just left, went first one place and then another." [8] Many of those who traveled did so to look for lost family members or to try to escape what were often strong white supremacist attitudes. As one description of conditions in Missouri noted, "Slavery died hard in Missouri, and the slave code mentality lived on for many years

[3] Lorenzo J. Greene, Gary R. Kremer, and Antonio F. Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1993), 88.
[4] Jerrald M. Packard, *American Nightmare: The History of Jim Crow* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 2002), 41.
[5] Packard, American Nightmare, 40.
[6] Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938, Missouri Slave Narratives, Folk History of Slavery in Missouri from Interviews with Former Slaves, (Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, ca. 1938), 102.
[7] Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938, *Missouri Slave Narratives*, 33.
[8] Greene, et. al., *Black Heritage,* 90-91.

after the Civil War."[9] Resentment of freedpeople was as strong or stronger in other southern states, and those conditions prompted many freedpeople to relocate in search of more favorable living conditions. While many headed to urban centers, others settled in more sparsely settled areas like southwest Missouri.

Neosho's African American Residents of the 1870s

In 1870, when the first population census after the Civil War was conducted, Neosho had a total of 875 residents, and there were 123 African Americans living in or near the community.[10] Slavery was very much a part of those black residents' recent past; in 1870, only three of the 98 local blacks that were born before 1865 were born outside of slave territory. (One was from Kansas and two were born in Indian Territory, Oklahoma.) Also, Missouri natives made up only 40% of the adult black population in 1870. The others had been born in other slave states, and it appears that many others had only been living in Missouri for a few years. (Past places of residence were determined from birthplaces of various family members.)

Of the 26 families in the area in 1870, only two were headed by native Missourians. The non-Missouri natives included a mix of formerly enslaved persons brought to the state in bondage, as well as more recent immigrants. Many of the southern-born Neosho residents were likely brought to Missouri as slaves. David and Sarah Thomas, for example, were natives of Alabama who were brought to Neosho while enslaved around 1850, and they were still living in Neosho in 1880.[11] Interestingly, a large number of the early families in Neosho had ties to Texas; in 1870 there were more black natives of Texas than Arkansas living in Neosho. Roughly 14% of the black residents in the area in 1870 had been born in Texas, and many of them appear to have migrated out of that state after the end of the war.[12] Several local black families included parents born in the Deep South, with older children from Texas, and infants or toddlers who were born in Missouri. It is possible that they moved to Missouri to escape rampant racism in Texas. Freedmen's Bureau representatives who were working to help set up schools in Texas in 1870 were frequently met with violent opposition, and one agent reported near-death experiences in the state.[13]

In 1870, ages of black area residents ranged from just a few months to 85 years old. The youngest was **Andrew Dale**, who was just a few months old when the census taker came through in August, and the oldest was 85 year old **Joseph Broady.** The difference in their life experiences was great. Joseph Broady and his wife Sarah (age 65) were both natives of

[9] Greene, et. al., *Black Heritage,* 91.
[10] "Population of Neosho, MO," *Population.us*, June 1 2018, http://population.us/mo/neosho/, and African American Database.
[11] Larry A. James and Sybil Jobe, *From Buzzard Glory to Seed Tick: A History of the Schools in Newton County, Missouri* (Neosho, MO: Newton County Historical Society, 2010), 29.
[12] African American Database.
[13] John W. Alvord, *Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, July 1870), 33.

Virginia. Joseph Broady had spent eight decades enslaved (or in danger of becoming so) and he was prohibited by law from learning to read. Young Andrew Dale, by contrast, began his life as a free person, and he and his six siblings grew up with access to free public school. The Dale family took full advantage of that access. Census records show that four of Andrew Dale's older siblings attended public school in Neosho school in 1870, and they are believed to be among the first students of the Neosho Colored School on Young Street when it opened in 1872.

It is likely that at least some of the families who had recently moved to Neosho did so because there was a school there; Neosho was home to one of only two black schools in the county in 1869. Many of those early residents put down roots; 34% of the African Americans who were living in Neosho in 1870 were still there in 1880, and at least 10% were still there in 1900. The trend continued into the late part of the century, in lesser numbers—just 16% of the African Americans in the area in 1880 were still there in 1900. Note that those numbers do not include family members who continued to call Neosho home. Many of the 1870 residents who died or moved away between 1870 and 1900 still had relatives in the area in 1900.

Long-term Neosho residents in the study group include members of the **Cooper** family. In 1870, **Louisa Cooper**, aged 65, was the single head of a family that included four sons or grandsons, ages 21 to 28. All of the Cooper males listed their occupation as farmer, and the household included Madison Hargrove, also a farmer, aged about 35. The Coopers may have been a family reunited after the end of the war. The census shows that Louisa and the two oldest boys, **Julius and Charles Cooper**, were born in Virginia, while 22 year old **Peter Cooper** was born in Arkansas. The youngest of the group, 21 year old **Eli Cooper**, was born in Texas. At least three of the Cooper sons were still living in Neosho thirty years later. They appear to have been a close family; Charles and Peter were living right next door to each other in 1880, and Charles and Eli were close neighbors in 1900. Eli and Peter Cooper were among the first black students in Neosho, they attended school in 1869-70, the first year there was an African American school in operation there.

The 123 African American area residents of 1870 represented the nucleus of a community which was active in the Neosho area for the rest of the century. They undoubtedly influenced the Neosho School Board's decision to purchase the small house that became the Neosho Colored School in 1872, and many of those same people were still living there when George Washington Carver moved to Neosho to attend that school around 1876. As has often been noted, Neosho exposed Carver to the first "predominantly black environment" that he was to encounter. It was certainly a marked change from his rural home township, which had a total black population of just 16.[14]

[14] Gary R. Kremer, *George Washington Carver: A Biography*, (Santa Barbara, Denver, and London: Greenwood Biographies, 2011), 20, and Ninth United States Federal Census 1870. *Population Tables 1-8* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872).

Carver's time at the school took place during a period of significant growth in the black community; the local African American population more than tripled between 1870 and 1880, from 123 to 400. That population growth leveled off after 1880, to reach a total of just 454 in 1900.[15] All told, just over 910 African Americans made their home in Neosho or the adjacent Neosho Township between 1865 and 1900.

Neosho's Early African American Neighborhood

Most of those African Americans lived in the same neighborhood, which was in the north part of town. Many lived in the adjacent town of Martling (also called Neosho City or New Town), or in Henning's Addition to Neosho. Those areas were both developed after the Pacific and Atlantic Railroad began offering train service to the area in 1870. Martling was laid out along the tracks of the railroad, which ran approximately a mile north of the Neosho Public Square; it was incorporated in 1871. Henning's Addition to Neosho, which was in the area south of Martling and north of the Neosho city limits, was platted just after the 1870 census was taken, August 12, 1870.[16] In spite of its status as a railroad stop, Martling saw limited commercial development, and in 1881, it was annexed into the town of Neosho.[17]

That area came to house a concentration of African Americans. By the end of the century it had been home to three black schools, at least three African American churches and a majority of the black residents of the community.[18] (See Figure 40.) Street addresses included in the 1900 population census show that every street in those two areas was home to at least one African American.[19]

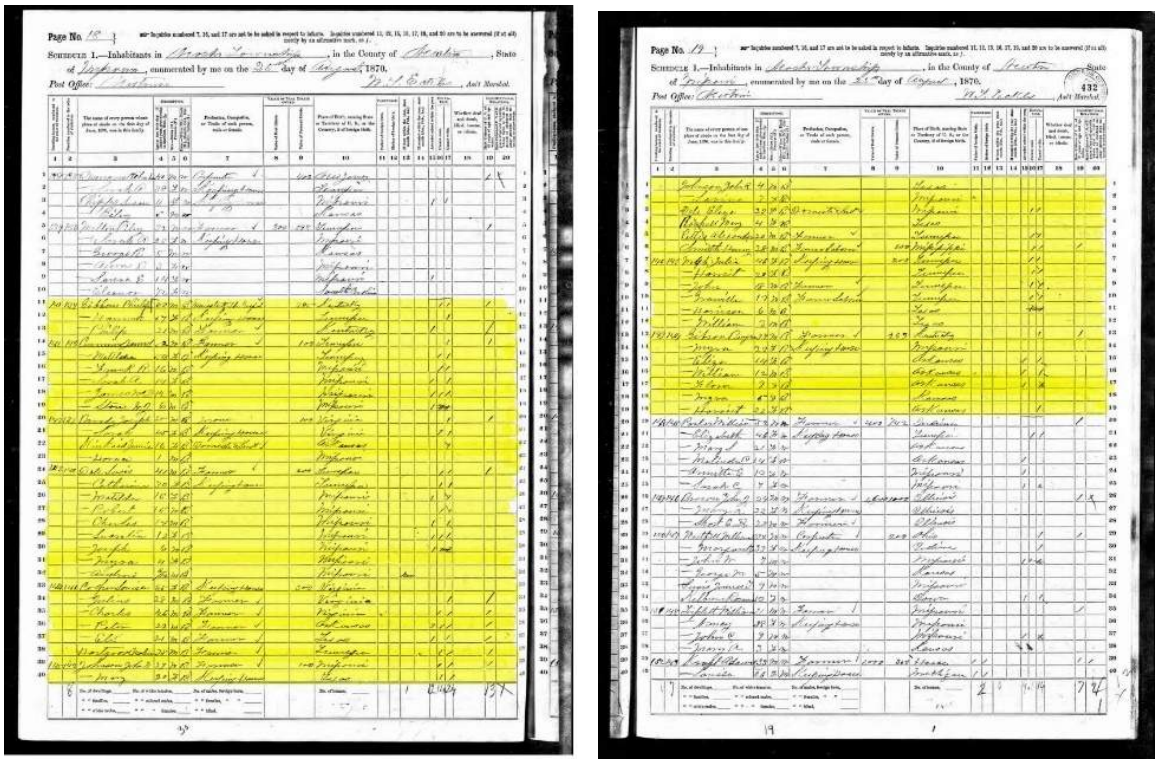
Gibson Settlement

Many of those streets had significant concentrations of black residents throughout the late 1800s. The 1870 census, for example, records eight black families living side by side in an area that became Martling not long after that record was made.[20] The family names are listed here in the order they appear in the 1870 census: **Givens, Cummins, Broady, Dale, Cooper, Johnson, Webb, Gibson**. Those eight large families accounted for nearly 40% of the local African American population in 1870, and just over 72% of all students enrolled in school in 1869-70. Most of the families listed above stayed in the area for decades, and many appear to have even stayed in the same houses—the 1880 census shows several of the same family members were still living side by side a decade later.

[15] Census records in the African American Database.
[16] Newton County Deed Records, *Book N*, 280-281, and *Goodspeed's History of Newton County*,136.
[17] Goodspeed's History of Newton County,136.
[18] Early atlas maps, deed records, and census entries were used to determine residential patterns.
[19] The 1900 census was the first to record street addresses.
[20] The locations of the houses were identified by comparing family names with those listed in the 1880 census for Martling.

Members of the **Gibson** family were apparently among the most prominent of that group; one description of the area noted that Andrew and Mariah Watkins, who moved to Neosho in the mid-1870s "made their home first in the 'Gibson Settlement' and then the 'Martling Settlement.'" [21] The 1870 census documents at least two Gibson households in 1870, including that of **Benjamin and Myra Gibson**, who married in Newton County in 1869, and had four children aged 5 to 14 in 1870.[22] (Marriages among slaves were illegal before the war.) Myra was born in Missouri, Benjamin in Kentucky, and three of their children were born in Arkansas. Their youngest child, Myra, Jr., was born in Kansas. Benjamin was listed as a farmer in 1870, but was working as blacksmith in 1880 and Myra took care of the house. Benjamin and Myra and their oldest son William were still living in Neosho in 1900. Like the Coopers, the Gibsons took early advantage of the local school system, and it is possible that they helped advocate for the creation a black school in the community. Three of their offspring, **Eliza, William and Flora Gibson**, were in school in 1869-70, and some of the Gibson siblings were likely among the first students in the Neosho Colored School when it opened in 1872.

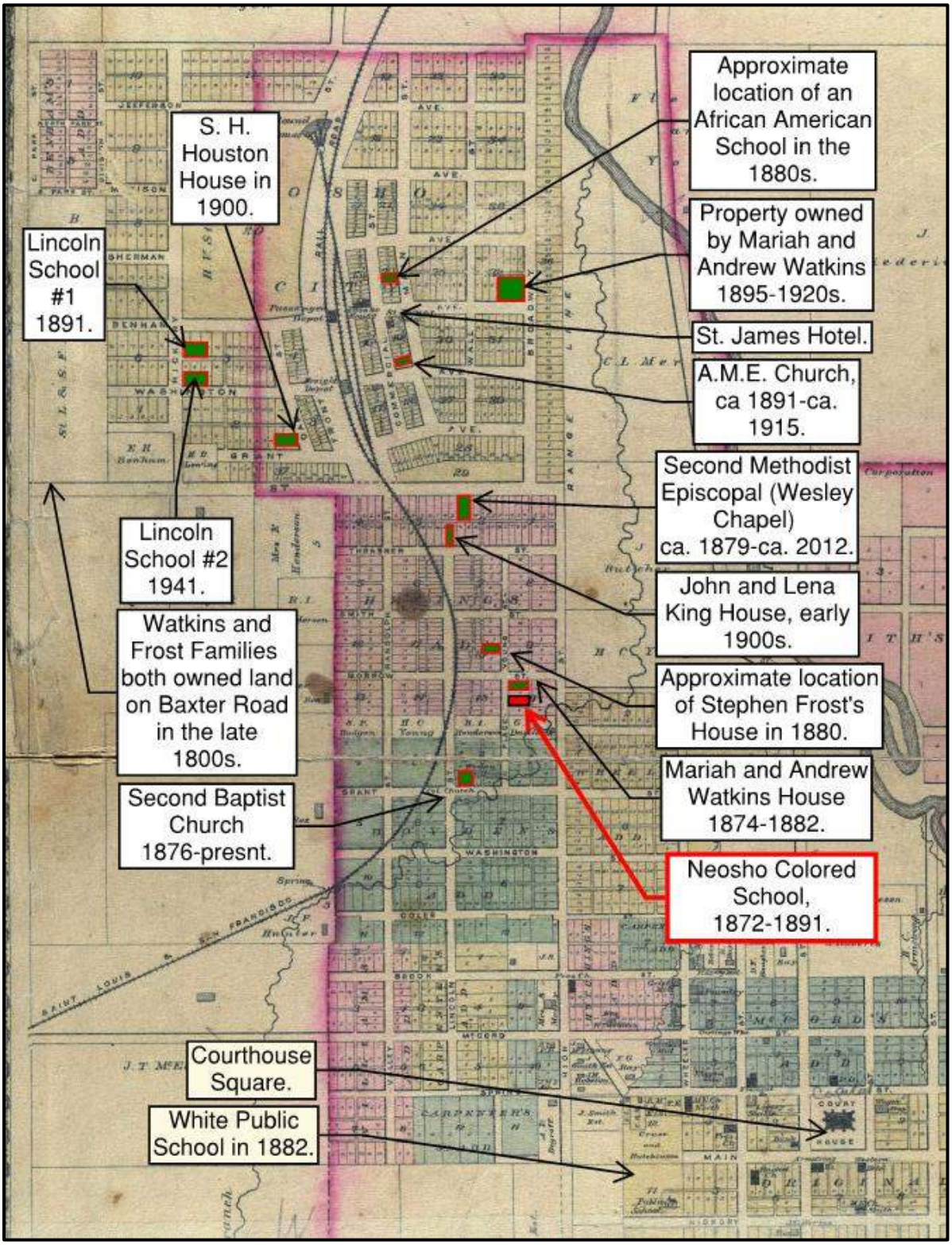
Figure 39. Consecutive pages from the 1870 Census for Neosho Township, Showing Entries for African American Residents. African Americans are highlighted. These families may constitute the early "Gibson Settlement".
1870 Census, Neosho Township, 18-19.



[21] Vesta-Nadine Robertson, "Midwife to Greatness," *Ozark Mountaineer*, Dec. 1975, 1.
[22] Newton County Marriage Records, accessed may 2018, Ancestry.com.

Figure 40. Map of Neosho's African American Neighborhood.

Base Map 1882 Atlas of Newton County. Notes added by Deb Sheals 2018.



Employment

In the early years of Reconstruction, newly emancipated persons throughout the country were handicapped by a lack of marketable skills as well as limited access to employment opportunities. While many freedpeople had knowledge of agricultural practices, it was very difficult for African Americans to establish farms of their own, since no banks would give them credit, and few had money to purchase land outright. That situation gave rise to the exploitative practice of sharecropping, which was widely utilized in the plantation belts of the south, including Arkansas, but less common in places like southern Missouri, where small farms were more of the norm before and after the war.[23] Post-war land ownership by African Americans was just as rare in Missouri as it was in the South, but African American farm laborers in Missouri tended to work more as hired hands than sharecroppers. In 1870, fully two thirds of the employed African American men in Missouri were working as farm laborers.[24]

That pattern held true in Neosho; almost all of the men who listed an occupation in the 1870s census worked in agriculture. Most were listed as a farmer or farm laborer; there were also two livery stable employees and one blacksmith. All but one of those agricultural workers were male, and all were apparently working for others—none of them owned property. In fact, only one local African American owned real property in 1870, 50 year old **Russel Petit**, a native of Virginia owned real property valued at $200, but listed his occupation as laborer.[25] Petit was a native of Virginia and his wife, Marie (age 60) was from Missouri. The couple may have met in Tennessee, where their oldest son was born. Two other sons were born in Texas. Their sons **Odeal Petit**, 12 and **Alexander Petit**, 21, were both in school for the 1869-70 school year and they may have been among the first students to attend the Neosho Colored School when it opened in 1872. They also had a 12 year old son, **Isaac Petit,** who was not listed as a student in the 1870 census.

Later census entries show that while agricultural operations continued to account for the vast majority of local jobs for black men, there were a few more employment options by the end of the century. In 1880, for example, roughly 45% of the men were counted as farmers, and another 35% were classified simply as laborers. (It is likely many of those laborers worked on farms.) The other 20% of local African American men held a variety of positions, including three brickyard workers, a painter and a carpenter, a hotel porter and a bootblack. Only five jobs among that group would have required much education; there were two school teachers and three ministers.

[23] "Lynching in America, Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror," 3rd ed., Equal Justice Initiative, 2017, 8-9, accessed Aug. 7, 2017, https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/report/.Lynching in America.
[24] Greene et al., Missouri's Black Heritage, 92.
[25] U. S. Census Records, 1870, Town of Neosho, accessed June 2017, Ancestry.com, 19.

The 1880 brickyard jobs included two listed as "labor in brickyard" plus one more specialized position of "brick molder." The brick molder was **Samuel H. Houston**, a 22 year old who was living on his own. He was from Texas, as were his four siblings. His parents were born in Virginia and Alabama. The entire family was living in Austin, Texas at the time of the 1870s census. They must have had ties to Missouri, however, as one of Samuel Houston's sisters was named Missouri.[26] Houston moved to Neosho sometime after 1870, and he attended the Neosho Colored School while in his late teens. The school on Young Street may have been his first taste of education. Neither he nor his other siblings were in school in Texas in 1870, and none of his family was counted as literate in the 1870s census. He is believed to have been a student at the Neosho Colored School when George Carver was there. He would have been approximately 18 when Carver moved to Neosho ca. 1876. (See Figure 41.)

Houston lived in Neosho for most of his adult life, and he spent much of that time working as a mason. In 1900 he was working as a bricklayer, and he and his wife Joanna owed their own home in Neosho. They lived at 5 Oak Street, which was in Martling, close to the railroad depot at the time.[27] He was also active in community affairs, and in 1896, he was named as a trustee for the Second Baptist Church of Neosho.[28] He is buried in the Pleasant Hill Cemetery, just north of Neosho.

Employment patterns in 1900 were much the same as they were in earlier years, with most men working as farmers or laborers. By that time, Neosho was an established trading center and African Americans had access to a few more job opportunities. That included a few jobs in local hotels, and railroad-related jobs such as tie hauler and railroad laborer. (See Figure 40.) Construction trades were also an option, as noted by Calvin Jefferson, a former student of the Neosho Colored school, who later wrote that many of the students of the school "became master tradesmen in brick and stone masonry; much of their work still stands in Neosho, Joplin and several southwest Missouri towns..."[29] Tradesmen in the 1900 census included a "contractor and builder" (**Willis Jackson,** b. 1862), a brick layer (Samuel Houston), and a stone mason (**John Phillips**, b. 1854).

[26] U. S. Census Records, 1870, Austin, Texas, accessed May 2018, Ancestry.com.
[27] U. S. Census Records, 1900, Neosho Township, accessed June 2017, Ancestry.com. The couple was married in 1897, Joanna Houston was born ca. 1863. U. S. Census Records, 1870, Austin.
[28] Second Baptist Church, We've Come This Far By Faith: Centennial Anniversary (Neosho, MO: 1976), 11.
[29] Calvin Jefferson, Letter to Austin Curtis, April 6, 1939 (GWCNM).

Figure 41. Tintype Portrait of Samuel H. Houston. Notes on the back of the tintype cover read: "1857-1917 Buried in the Pleasant Hill cemetery Neosho, MO. Mr. Houston was once of Geo. W. Carver's classmates at Neosho, MO in 1876."
From the collections of the George Washington Carver National Monument.

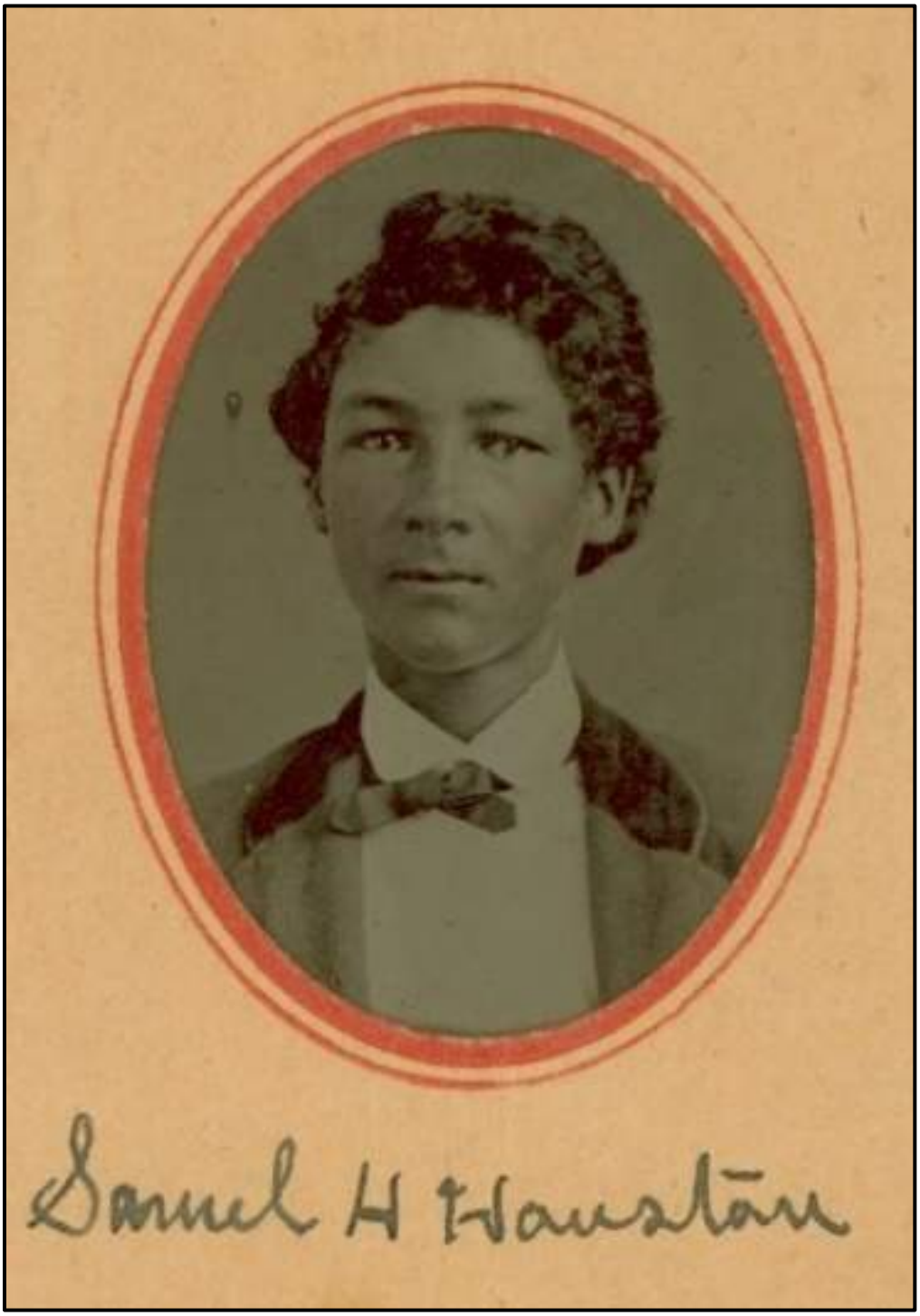


Figure 42. Railroad Workers around the Turn of the Nineteenth Century.
Gage family photo from the collections of the George Washington Carver National Monument.

Employment options for African American men stand in stark contrast to those for whites in the same community. Neosho had a thriving commercial center in the late 1800s, but the vast majority of the jobs associated with local commerce were not available to persons of color.[30] Throughout the late 1800s, whites controlled commerce, manufacturing and professional services in the Neosho. White occupations in the late 1800s included all of the jobs available to blacks at the time, as well as banking, serving as merchants and clerks in various retail establishments, industrial operations such as a mill and wagon factory, and professional services in the areas of medicine, real estate and law.[31]

For African American women in Neosho and elsewhere, employment options during Reconstruction were generally limited to working as domestic servants, but that was for many an improvement. One history of the early years of Reconstruction noted that "Many employers were frustrated to find that freedwomen now refused to work in the fields as they had under slavery. In many instances, black families—with new levels of control over their work and domestic lives—chose to have women and children work at home on garden plots,

[30] Commercial history of Neosho can be found in Philip Thomason, "Historic Resources of Neosho, Missouri," *National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form*, 1993, p. E.4.
[31] U. S. Census records, 1870-1900.

beyond the oversight of whites."[32] In Neosho in 1870, the most common occupation listed for women was keeping house. Those working outside the house included 18 year old **Agnes Halsel**, who was listed as a farmer, eight female domestic servants, and 30 year old **Mary Severs**, who worked as a wash woman.

Employment patterns did not change much for African American women, over the next three decades. In 1880 there were two wash women and two housekeepers, but again, most of the adult women were described as keeping house. It is also worth noting that most of the black families at the time had two parents; only 31 of the 174 heads of households in the study group were female, and there were only one or two single fathers in the group. There was a bit more variety in jobs for women by 1900; there were three cooks, three housekeepers, and seven women who washed and/or ironed clothes. The most skilled female position in the study group was held by 28 year old **Laura Railiff** [sic], who worked as a dressmaker.[33]

Several women were also listed in jobs that had before been traditionally male, including six farmers and eight laborers. The female farmers ranged in age from 26 (**Bula Webb**) to 66 (**Mary Adams**). The difference in job opportunities between local black and white women was much less than for men. Women of both races most often worked keeping house, and those white women working the late 1800s frequently held the same types of positions as their black counter parts. Skilled positions for white women included dressmaking and millinery work (making hats).

Mariah Watkins

Mariah Scales Watkins, known widely as "Aunt Mariah," was a notable exception to many of the post-war trends in African American employment, for men or women. (Figure 43.) Trained as a midwife while enslaved in North Carolina, she was one of the most skilled local women of any race. A review of the 1870 census records for Neosho and Neosho Township shows no other female medical workers, black or white, and few women of any race in skilled professions. The most advanced positions filled by white women in 1870 were teacher, milliner and seamstress. There were seven teachers, two milliners, and one seamstress.[34] Mariah Watkins' medical training put her in a select group, even when compared to white men; Neosho had just seven doctors and one dentist in 1870.

Mariah Scales was born ca. 1824 in North Carolina.[35] Her white father, reportedly the master of her mother, was a doctor named Scales.[36] According to Mariah Watkins, he took her with him

[32] Gregory P. Downs and Kate Masur, *The Era of Reconstruction, 1861-1900: A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (Washington D.C.:U. S. Department of the Interior, 2017), 15.
[33] 1900 Census Records, 1900, Neosho Township.
[34] 1870 Census records, Neosho and Neosho Township.
[35] 1880 Census records, Town of Neosho.
[36] No record of his first name or and details of where she lived in North Carolina have been found. A review of census records shows a white physician named Richard Scales living in Rockingham County North Carolina in

on medical calls and taught her to be a midwife.[37] It is not known how long she remained in the Scales household. She worked as a nurse during the Civil War and supported herself as a midwife once the war was over. [38] By 1872, she was living in St. Louis, where she married Andrew Watkins.[39] (Figure 44.) The couple moved to Neosho soon after, and she spent the next forty years or more working as a midwife there.

Figure 43. Mariah Watkins. This may have been taken about the time she married.
From the collections of the George Washington Carver National Monument.

Over the course of her long career, Mariah Watkins delivered children throughout the region, for white families as well as black ones. As one article about her life noted, "Since there was no hospital in or near Neosho at the time, all babies were born at home," which put her skills as a midwife in much demand.[40] One newspaper article estimated she delivered as many as 500

1850. However, he was just 13 years older than Mariah and she was not part of his household at that time. 1850 Census, Western District, Rockingham, North Carolina; p. 78A; Image: 162; Ancestry.com.

[37] "'Aunt Mariah' Watkins a Part of Neosho Story," *Neosho Daily News* (Neosho, MO), July 2, 1958.

[38] "Neosho Story," July 2, 1958.

[39] "Missouri, Marriage Records, 1805-2001," Ancestry.com.

[40] "Neosho Story," July 2, 1958.

children.[41] One of the most famous of "her babies" was Thomas Hart Benton, who was born in Neosho in 1889. He later wrote, "I remember Aunt Mariah (Watkins) quite well. She delivered my brother and two sisters as well as me and was about our house in Neosho as a kind of over all boss of things until 1896…It was said she delivered practically every child in Neosho."[42] Watkins was known as a no-nonsense nurse who often stayed with the new mothers for a time after the delivery, but made it clear she was there as a nurse and not to do housework or other chores.[43]

Andrew Watkins, who was sometimes called "Uncle Andy," was reportedly a bit more easy going than Mariah, and a special favorite of area children, who would clamber all over his wagon as he drove it down the street.[44] He shared stories of his youth with area children, including Ed Stites, who at age 95 repeated a story Andy Watkins had told him about escaping from Texas as a youth.[45] Like many area residents of the time, Andy had lived in Texas for a time, and was enslaved there. (He was born in Virginia.) Stites told a reporter in 1978 that Watkins crossed the Arkansas River in Oklahoma by jumping on bales of cotton being floated down the river to market, and then took refuge in a house on the Underground Railroad. He narrowly escaped the "posse" that was pursuing him and made his way from there to St. Louis. It is possible that he visited Neosho on his way from Oklahoma to St. Louis and liked it enough to return with his bride Mariah after their marriage in 1872.

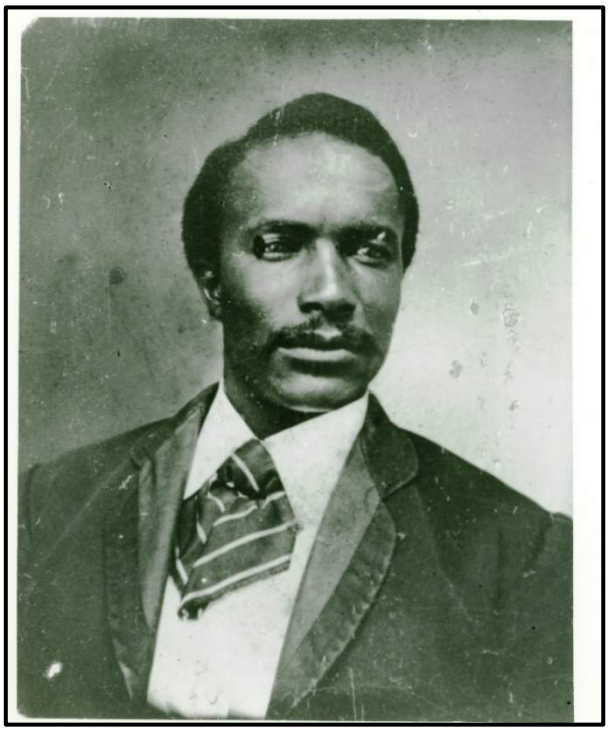


Figure 44. Andrew Watkins. This portrait was in the back of Mariah Watkins' bible.
From the collections of the George Washington Carver National Monument.

In 1874, shortly after Mariah and Andrew Watkins arrived in Neosho, they purchased a recently constructed three-room house in Henning's Addition.[46] It is worth noting that the deed recording that sale lists only Mariah Watkins as the purchaser, which made her the only black woman in the area to own real estate at the time. Both Mariah and Andrew Watkins

[41] "Neosho Story," July 2, 1958.
[42] Robertson, "Midwife to Greatness," 20-21.
[43] Joanne Kidder, "'Aunt Mariah' Items Presented at Monument," *Joplin Globe* (Joplin, MO), Oct. 24, 1980, B1.
[44] Robertson, "Midwife to Greatness," 21.
[45] Robertson, "Midwife to Greatness," 20-21.
[46] Newton County Deed Records, *Book 2*, 439.

were listed on the mortgage that funded the purchase, and they paid off that off early just a few months later.[47] The Watkins' remained in Neosho for the rest of their respective lives, and both were popular and widely respected in the community. A description of Mariah written in the 1900s shows that she was particularly well-regarded. "She soon became a leader among Neosho Negroes and her advice was sought on many problems."[48]

George Washington Carver

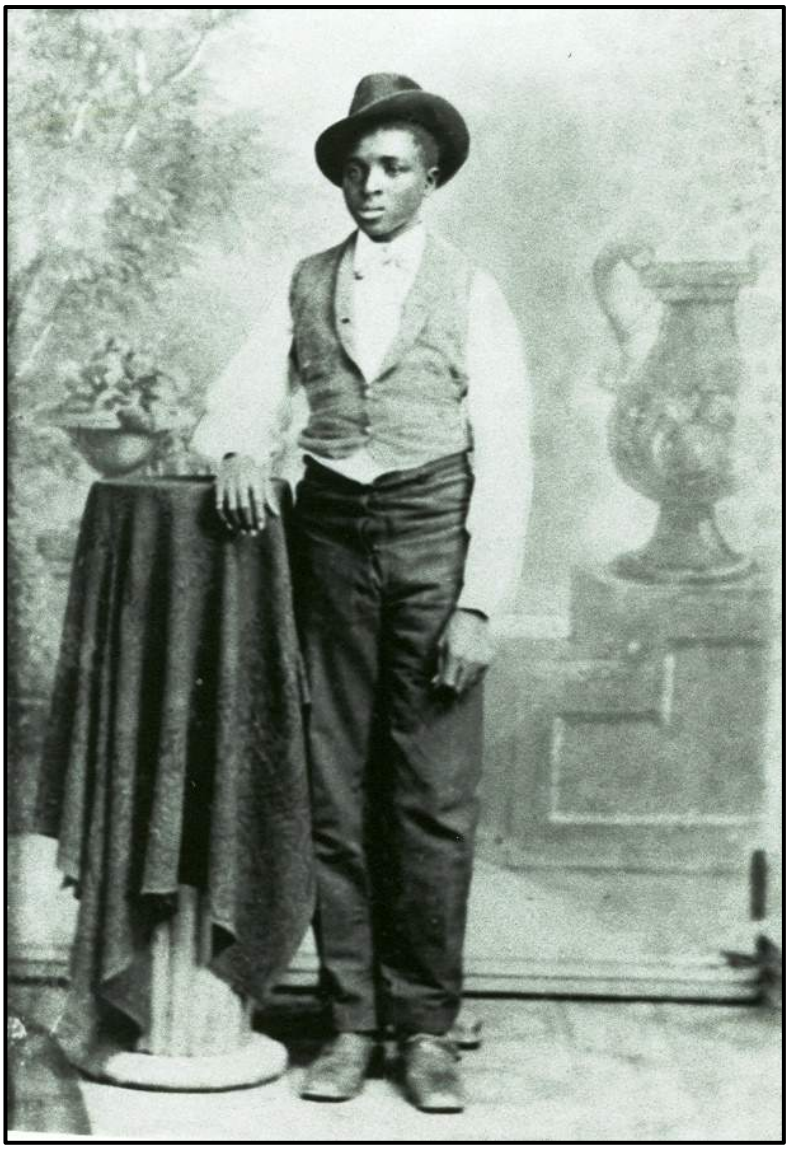
The house that Mariah and Andrew bought when they first moved to Neosho was located in the town's developing African American neighborhood, right next door to the Neosho Colored School.[49] The school had been open for two years when they moved to Neosho, and it remained in operation the entire time they lived there. They had been living there for about two years when they met young George Washington Carver. A man who knew Mariah Watkins in later years recalled a story of the first time Mariah and George Carver met. He remembered being told that one morning Mariah came out of her house to find "George sitting on a wood pile with all of his belongings in a little red bandana on a stick over his shoulder."[50] After a short conversation, she invited him to live with her and her husband while he was in school. That story was told by Amos Porter (who was white), in 1975. While the description of the "red bandana on a stick" may be romanticized, Watkins' decision to take in the young boy has been well-documented, including by Carver himself.

Mariah Watkins was a family friend of the Porters, and Amos Porter saw her regularly as a child. She served as the mid-wife at his birth in 1911, and in the early twentieth century she attended the same church as his parents, the Church of God in Aroma, MO.[51] Amos Porter and his sister Zelda Porter Speak later donated some of her possessions to the George Washington Carver National Monument.[52] That gift included a birth certificate signed by her, as well as a bible that she had received as a gift in 1865. The flyleaf of the bible bears the inscription "To Mariah from Mrs. Emma Moore. Oct. 15, 1865."[53] The bible included family information such as Mariah Scales' birthdate and a number of tintype photos. (Figures 41 and 44.)

[47] Census records show several William Smiths living in Newton County in 1870, all of whom were white farmers. Ancsetry.com accessed May, 2018.
[48] "Life of 'Aunt Mariah' Left Profound Effects on Lives of Many Neoshans," *Neosho Miner and Mechanic* (Neosho, MO) Nov. 24, 1961.
[49] Susan Richards Johnson, *Historic Structure Report, 1872 Neosho Colored School, 639 Young Street, Neosho, Missouri* (Kansas City, MO: Susan Richard Johnson and Associates, Inc., 2012), 29-33. The house occupied Lot 8 Block 16 of Henning's Addition, and the school is on Lot 6; Lot 7 was vacant the entire time the school was open.
[50] Robertson, "Midwife to Greatness," 2. Note that a few early oral histories postulated that George's older brother James also came to Neosho for school around that time, there is no indication that he ever lived with the Watkins', or that he stayed long in Neosho if he did come.
[51] Kidder, "'Aunt Mariah' Items Presented at Monument," B1.
[52] Kidder, "'Aunt Mariah' Items Presented at Monument," B1.
[53] Robertson, "Midwife to Greatness,"1.

Carver lived with the Watkins' in the house at the corner of Young and Morrow Streets the entire time he attended the Neosho Colored School, ca. 1876-1878. That house has not survived to modern times. They sold it in 1882, and it was reportedly demolished in 1895, presumably to make way for the house that is now on that lot.[54] The Watkins remained in the neighborhood, however; they moved from Young Street to a farm just west of Martling, on Baxter Road. In 1894, they sold that land, and moved back into town to a house on Benham Avenue in Martling.[55] (Figure 40.) Andrew died in 1916, and Mariah still owned the house on Sherman Avenue when she died in 1925.[56]

Figure 45. George Washington Carver, about the time he moved to Neosho to Attend the Neosho Colored School.
From the collections of the George Washington Carver National Monument. It was loaned to the monument by relatives of Moses and Susan Carver.



[54] "Profound Effect," *Neosho Miner and Mechanic*, 1961.
[55] Deed records on file at GWCA, and U. S. Census Records, 1900, Neosho Township, 49.
[56] U.S. Find a Grave Index, 1600-Current, Ancestry.com. Andrew and Mariah are both buried at Hazelwood Cemetery in Newton County.

Neosho Colored School

The school building next to the Watkins' house was the first building purchased specifically to serve as a black school in Neosho. The local school board, which was established in 1866, began offering classes for black students in 1869, but those early classes were held in rented facilities. As the fledgling school system gained strength and the number of black residents in the community continued to grow, the board made the decision to purchase property for a new black school. The concentration of African Americans living in and around the north part of Neosho no doubt influenced the school board's choice of location for the Neosho Colored School, which opened in Henning's Addition in 1872.

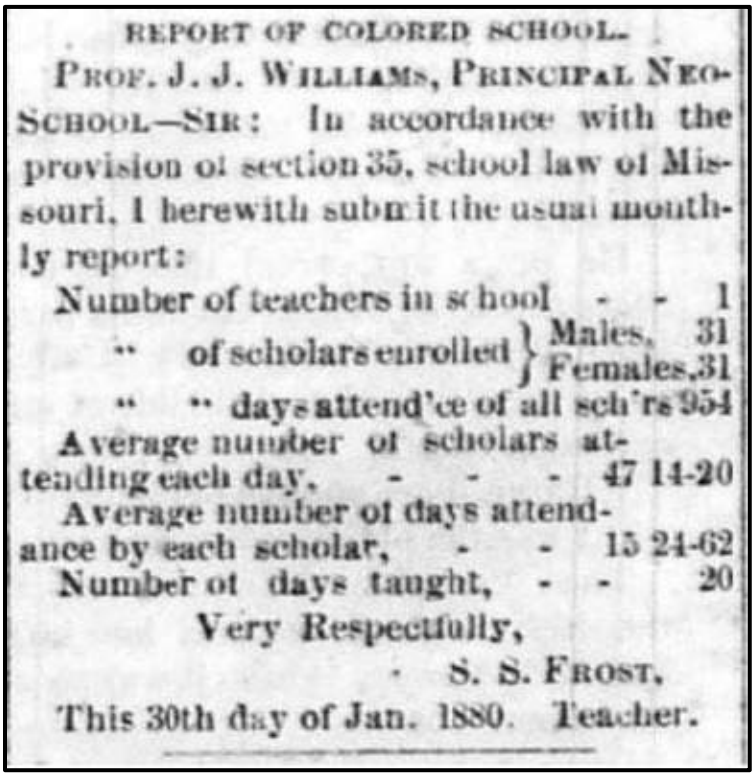
The school opened at a time of growing demand. Between 1870 and 1880, the number of African Americans attending school in Neosho jumped from to 18 to 87.[57] The average ages were more uniform in 1880; students in 1880 ranged in age from 6 to 18. The youngest was 6 year old **Lizzie McClanahan**; she and her older brother **John McClanahan** lived in Martling and may have attended school there later in the 1880s. The oldest student of the group was **Jesse Webb**, who was 18. He was from a large family; there were 8 members of the Webb family in school in 1880, and at least 20 Webbs who lived in Neosho between 1870 and 1900.

Census records also show that few of those students attended school for extended periods of time. There was just one African American from the area who was listed as a student in both the 1870 and 1880 census—**Joseph Dale**. Dale was a 6 year old student in 1870, and still in school at 16. Like the older students listed in the 1870 census, Joseph Dale took time off of work to attend classes; he was listed in the 1880 census as attending school, but his occupation was listed as "works on farm." A resident of Neosho Township, he was from a large family that valued education. There were at least 30 members of the Dale family living in the area between 1870 and 1900, and Joseph Dale was one of seven Dale children in school in 1880. Dale children made up a significant percentage of the area's earliest black pupils; 4 of the 18 students recorded in the 1870 census were siblings of Joseph Dale.

The 1880 census is the only one conducted while the school was in operation, and it appears that the Neosho Colored School was the only black school in Neosho when that record was made. School reports published in the local paper in 1879 and 1880 both reference the "Colored School" in singular, and one report also mentions "Neosho and Martling," indicating that one school was serving both communities. Martling at that point was still legally a separate town. Both of those reports were submitted by "S. S. Frost," who was also the only teacher listed in the reports.[58]

[57] Based on persons listed in the 1870 and 1880 Census records as having attended school in the census year.
[58] J. J. Williams, "Report of Public School," *Neosho Miner and Mechanic* (Neosho, MO), Dec. 4, 1879 and "Report of Colored School," *Neosho Miner and Mechanic* (Neosho, MO) Feb. 5, 1880.

Figure 46. "Report of Colored School."
Report published in the Daily Miner and Mechanic, Neosho, Feb. 1, 1880, 1.



REPORT OF COLORED SCHOOL.

PROF. J. J. WILLIAMS, PRINCIPAL NEO-SCHOOL—SIR: In accordance with the provision of section 35, school law of Missouri, I herewith submit the usual monthly report:

Number of teachers in school - - 1
" of scholars enrolled } Males, 31 / Females, 31
" " days attend'ce of all sch'rs 954
Average number of scholars attending each day, - - - 47 14-20
Average number of days attendance by each scholar, - - 15 24-62
Number of days taught, - - 20

Very Respectfully,
S. S. FROST,
Teacher.

This 30th day of Jan. 1880.

Students of the Neosho Colored School

The Neosho Colored School was in operation for close to two decades, and it was for much of that time the only black school in Neosho. Nearly all of the approximately 120 African American students who attended school in Neosho between 1870 and 1880 went to the school on Young Street. (See Appendix II.) That total includes students specifically identified in historical accounts as well as all students listed in the 1870 and 1880 census as having attended school within the year.

Lena King

Researchers working in the mid-1900s were able to find and interview a number of former students of the school, including Lena Scott King (ca. 1879-1957), who attended the Neosho Colored School in the 1880s. The 1880 census shows that she was living in Martling with her parents, James and Mollie Scott in 1880, and in 1955 she told researchers "I went to the first school established for Negroes in Neosho. I was five years old when I started."[59] King had strong ties to Neosho; her maternal grandparents were brought enslaved to the area around 1850s, and she spent all of her life in Neosho.[60] She was born there in 1879, and was still living there in 1900, by which time she had married John King. She told interviewers that Mariah

[59] Robert Fuller, "Interview with Mrs. Lena King 1314 Commercial Street, Neosho" March 9, 1955, GWCNM Library.
[60] "Granddaughter of Onetime Negro Slave in Neosho Recalls the Past," *Neosho News*, Dec. 13, 1955, 4.

Watkins delivered 6 of her 7 children. In 1912 the Kings bought property at Lincoln and Thrasher Streets. (Lot 5, B 2 Henning's Addition) but lost it to foreclosure in 1919.[61] Lena King later made the first uniforms for the Ozark Rockies, an all-black baseball team formed in the 1920s, and her nephew Jim Gage was a local businessman and civic leader in the mid to late 1900s.[62]

Figure 47. Members of the Gage Family around the Turn of the Century.
From the collections of the George Washington Carver National Monument.

Likely Classmates of George Washington Carver

A review of census records and interviews with early area residents has identified 64 people who could have been classmates of George Carver when he was in school in Neosho. Of that group, ten have been specifically identified in historical documents as classmates, and the rest were in school in 1880, and were of an age that they could have been there when Carver was, between 1876 and 1878. (See Figure 48, and Appendix III.) That list includes Calvin Jefferson, a childhood friend and classmate of Carver's who clearly remembered his time in class with Carver in later years. Jefferson supplied the names of eight students who were in school at the same time Carver was there, including four people who were not in census

[61] "Trustees Sale," *The Neosho Times* (Neosho, MO) March 6, 1919.
[62] "Ozark Rockies Baseball Team," Ozark Mountaineer, May-June 1986, 50-51.

records. [63] Researchers also interviewed fellow student Amelia (Thomas) Richardson, who recalled classmate names as well.[64]

Figure 48. Chart: Known Neosho Area Classmates of George Washington Carver.
From Census records and historical sources.
Jefferson and Richardson in the notes field refers to interviews with Calvin Jefferson and Amelia Thomas Richardson, former students at the school.

Name		*Place of Residence*	*Approximate Birth Date*	*Source of information*
Joseph	**Dale**	Neosho Township 1870, 1880	ca. 1864	Student from at least 1870-1880, so would have been in school when Carver was there.
James	**Green**	Neosho 1880	ca. 1866	Census and Jefferson
Andy	**Handy**	Neosho, ca. 1870s	ca. 1867	Jefferson interview
John	**Handy**	Neosho, ca. 1870s	ca. 1867	Jefferson interview
Samuel	**Houston**	Neosho Township 1880	ca. 1870	Census and GWCNM Collections
Calvin	**Jefferson**	Neosho 1880	ca. 1868	Census and interviews
Wesley	**Kincade**	Martling 1880	ca.1858	Census, Jefferson, Richardson
Mat	**Perry**	Neosho, ca. 1870s	Unknown	Jefferson interview
Thomas	**Randolph**	Neosho, ca. 1870s	ca. 1867	Jefferson, Richardson
Amelia	**Thomas (Richardson)**	Martling 1880	ca. 1866	Census and interview

Calvin Jefferson

Calvin Jefferson (1868-1949) was a student at the Neosho Colored School when Carver moved in with the Watkins. (Figure 49.) He was well acquainted with the school and the neighborhood at the time. In a letter to Carver's assistant Austin Curtis in 1939, Jefferson noted that he attended the Neosho Colored School and lived just across the street from it when Carver was a student there.[65] Classes in the school were taught by his brother-in-law, Stephen Frost. Frost was married to Fannie Jefferson Frost, Calvin Jefferson's older sister, and the 1880 census shows that Calvin Jefferson was living with Stephen and Fannie Frost, on Young Street very close to the school property. That was very likely a residence at 710 Young Street.[66] Jefferson was 13 at the time and listed as a student. Jefferson's 1939 letter noted that his father had died when he was 10, so he must have moved in with his sister and her husband around 1877, which would have been while Carver was living with the Watkins'.

[63] Calvin Jefferson, Letter to Austin Curtis, April 6, 1939, GWCNM library, and Tuskegee Field Notes, "Interview with Cal Jefferson," May 28, 1948, GWCNM Library.
[64] M. W. Dial, "Interview with Mrs. Amelia Richardson," July 27, 1956, GWCNM Library.
[65] Calvin Jefferson, Letter to Austin Curtis, April 6, 1939, GWCNM library.
[66] Tuskegee Field Notes, *Interview with Leslie Cooper,* 5-29-48.

Jefferson also had a long-time connection to Mariah Watkins; she lived with him for several years at the end of her life and he served as one of the executors of her will.[67]

Jefferson was a lifetime resident of Newton County. After leaving school he worked in a livery stable until he could save up enough money to start his own livery business in the nearby town of Granby. He ran that business for some thirty years, or as he put it, "until the end of the horse and buggy days."[68] A short biography written in 2010 noted that "Cal Jefferson spent more than 30 years in the livery business and was well-known around Granby for his love of animals, especially horses and dogs."[69] (Figure 49.) He was also known around Granby as an accomplished musician who played guitar and mandolin and taught others to play as well. His wife Hattie (Berry) donated materials to the Monument in 1957, and she was interviewed by NPS historian Robert Fuller on October 4, 1957.

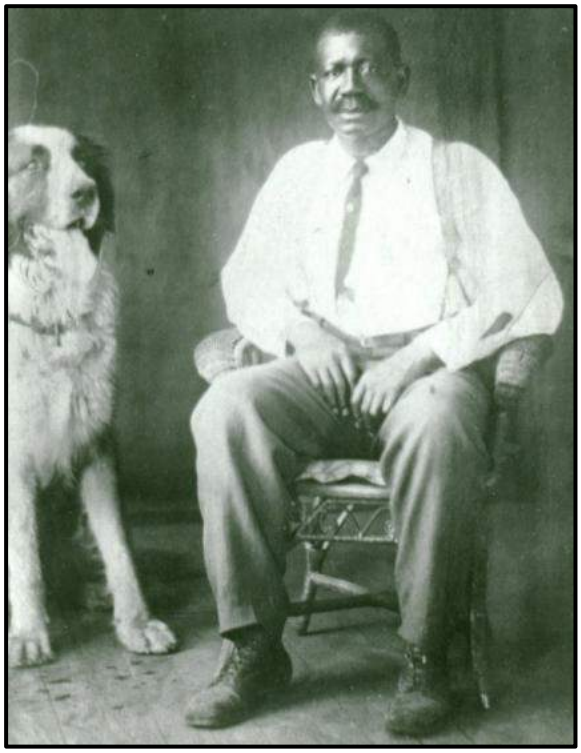


Figure 49. Calvin Jefferson.
From the collections of the George Washington Carver National Monument. This is likely a photo taken in 1913 that was loaned to the monument for copying by Hattie Jefferson.

Amelia Thomas Richardson

Another early classmate to be interviewed in the mid-1900s was Mrs. Amelia Thomas Richardson, who was one of Carver's fellow students at the school. In 1880, she was living in Martling with her father David, mother Sara and five siblings, and she later told interviewers that she remained in Neosho until she was grown. Mrs. Richardson, then 87, was interviewed in July and August 1956. She remembered Carver well, and told the following story about an arithmetic problem he was asked to do in class.

> *Well he'd worked er…Oh! It was a big problem on the board. We had blackboards then, and he worked it and the teacher said it wasn't right. He rubbed it out, and then he worked it again, and said "Professor, I can't bring it out no way but this way. It seems to come out this way everytime". He said, taint right. You have to work your brains. So Aunt Mariah told him that night to carry this problem to a high school teacher that she'd known, that she'd worked*

[67] Newton County Probate Records, 8-13-1925, copy on file at GWCNM.
[68] Kay Hively, *They Trusted God and Pressed On* (N.p.: Kay Hively, 2010), 27.
[69] Hively, *They Trusted God*, 27.

for…and he did, and he gave her the problem, and she worked it out just like he did, and she wrote her name on there, his problem, and said "correct." He brought it to the teacher the next day.[70]

Figure 50. Amelia Thomas Richardson in 1956, not long after she was interviewed.
From the collections of the George Washington Carver National Monument.

Richardson and other fellow students remembered Carver as a serious student who often used recess time to work or study. She later recalled that he "would embroider at recess after his lessons was up, and the girls would go there to him, young women like we were, and look at his work."[71] Calvin Jefferson recalled that Carver sometimes used recess for both work and study. "At recess, Aunt Mariah had him to come home and help wash the clothes and at the same time he kept the book before him and studied his lessons."[72]

Although Carver was somewhat behind in his education compared to the other students when he arrived in Neosho, he soon made up for lost time. Calvin Jefferson stated that when

[70] M. W. Dial, "Interview with Mrs. Amelia Richardson," July 27, 1956, GWCNM Library.
[71] "Interview with Mrs. Amelia Richardson," July 27, 1956 GWCNM Library.
[72] Calvin Jefferson, Letter to Austin Curtis, 6 April 1939, GWCNM.

George "came to school he was in a class by himself because he was behind in his classes. Other children were advanced."[73] Carver apparently soon caught up to the others, as another classmate later recalled that "he was very smart and seemed really to know more than the teacher."[74] He did so well that he received a "Reward of Merit" for Perfect Studies and Good Conduct" during the week of December 22, 1876.[75]

Stephen S. Frost

That certificate was signed by Carver's teacher, Stephen S. Frost, who began teaching at the Neosho Colored School in 1875, and held that position much of the next 16 years. He taught nearly every term at the school on Young Street for the next decade, and was active in public education in Newton County for the rest of the century. Frost was born in Tennessee around 1850, and moved to Missouri before 1870, when the census records him as a resident of nearby Springfield, Missouri. Frost was remembered more for his dedication to his students than his educational prowess. Calvin Jefferson later wrote: "He did not have much educational preparation, but he was an ideal teacher with the power to influence, inspire and impart knowledge and wisdom on what he knew in the minds of his pupils."[76]

The 1870 census record shows just how little educational background he had when he began teaching—he is described there as being unable to read or write. That was just four years before he began teaching in Neosho, but also just five years after it became legal to educate blacks in Missouri. He may have been in the process of gaining an education when that record was made. He was living with the family of a white lawyer, William Baker, whose daughter Emma was a 22 year old school teacher. It is possible that he was a student in Ms. Baker's school, or she may have been tutoring him in her spare time. He is recorded as being literate in the 1880 census, and no doubt taught himself more as he taught the scores of children that passed through his classroom over the years.

Figure 51. Stephen Frost.
From the collections of the George Washington Carver National Monument.

[73] Tuskegee Field Notes, "Interview with Cal Jefferson," May 28, 1948, GWCNM Library.
[74] "Interview with Mrs. Amelia Richardson," July 27, 1956, GWCNM Library.
[75] The original card is part of the collection of the GWCNM.
[76] Calvin Jefferson, Letter to Austin Curtis, 6 April 1939, GWCNM.

Lack of education notwithstanding, Frost was a respected member of the community and an effective teacher. He provided stability and respect to the students of the school and helped keep the new school in operation during a period of transition. Jefferson recalled that he "was held in high regard and esteem by all of the parents and citizens, both white and black in the city of Neosho and a fine upstanding Christian man…about 95% of the students who completed work under him made good; that is they first had their education and became practical men and women."[77]

Frost taught every term at the school on Young Street from 1875 to 1883, which included the full span of time the George Washington Carver was in Neosho. He changed jobs around 1883 when he began teaching in other schools in Newton County, and he also spent a few years as the pastor of the Washington Avenue Baptist Church in Springfield.[78] He returned to Neosho in 1889, and took up his old job at the Neosho Colored School until it closed in 1891. Frost remained in Neosho after the school on Young Street closed. He was the first principal of Lincoln School, a larger brick school that replaced the Neosho Colored School in 1891. By 1900, he had left that position and was teaching in the Jolly area of Newton County.[79] The 1900 census shows that he was a widower and had his brother **Charles Frost** as well as a family boarding in his home: **William and Emma Baker** and their daughters, **Celia, Ora, and Ophelia Baker.**[80]

John W. Harlow

John W. Harlow (b. 1844), was in charge of the Neosho Colored School most of the time that Stephen Frost was away. Frost was succeeded in 1883 by A. W. Williams, who was replaced that same year by John W. Harlow, a native of Kentucky who had recently moved to the area.[81] John W. Harlow's son, **"Doc" (James F.) Harlow,** was interviewed by Tuskegee researchers in 1948.[82] The interviewers wrote that he described his father as being "Cherokee, Negro, English and Irish." (The census classified him as mulatto.) Doc Harlow noted that J. W. Harlow moved his family to Neosho in 1881, and he began teaching in Neosho schools soon after. At one point, J. W. Harlow was elected Secretary of the Neosho School Board; his son recalled that he was the first and only black man to have served on that board as of 1948. After he stopped teaching in Neosho, he became involved with the Southern District Baptist Association and served as a Baptist Minister. He was also in great demand as a lecturer, and was active in the Republican Party. With the exception of one term taught by Mrs. E. Boyd,

[77] Calvin Jefferson, Letter to Austin Curtis, 6 April 1939, GWCNM.
[78] Mary Jean Barker, "Second Baptist Church," National Register of Historic Places Inventory Form, 1995.
[79] Neosho Superintendent of Schools, "Course of Study: Neosho Public Schools," (Neosho, 1893), 24, and Jobe, *A History of Newton County as Portrayed in the Courthouse Mural*, (Cassville, MO: Newton County Historical Society, 1998) 87.
[80] 1900 Census Records, Neosho Township, 50.
[81] 1880 Census Records, Hardyville, Hart, Kentucky, *Ancestry.com*, Accessed April 2018, 245B.
[82] Tuskegee Field Notes, *Interview with James F. Harlow,* 5-28-48.

Harlow was in charge of the Neosho Colored School from 1883 to 1889, when Stephen Front returned to his former position.

African American Churches

Like schools, churches brought neighborhood residents together and provided social and cultural support as well as religious services. As noted in *Missouri's Black Heritage,* before the war, "black churches provided one of the few forums in which potential black leaders could develop and refine their leadership skills."[83] That held true after the war as well, when black churches played a central role in the creation of social networks, especially in smaller communities that offered few alternate means of socializing. Before the war, enslaved persons were generally allowed to worship only with white permission and supervision, and once African Americans were accorded a choice, they often set up their own churches. Historian Mary Jean Barker observed in a description of the Second Baptist Church in Neosho that a "church separate from the white churches permitted a degree of independence and self-determination not permissible in an integrated body" and that black churches represented for many African Americans "a natural extension of their freedom."[84] She also noted that the church played a central role in the African American community in Neosho, which "maintained its own separate social structure, similar to the legally imposed educational and economic structure" that blacks faced during Reconstruction.[85]

Many of the African Americans with access to organized religion before the war identified as either Methodist or Baptist, and those denominations later developed healthy African American branches across the country. The African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME), was started in Philadelphia in 1816, and once the Civil War ended, began a campaign to establish new churches throughout the south. With the well-established organization structure of the AME, local branches often served as centers for political as well as spiritual leadership. All-black Baptist churches also became common, often using the title Second Baptist Church. [86]

Missouri followed that trend; most new black churches established in the state during Reconstruction were generally either Methodist or Baptist.[87] That was also true in Neosho. The African American neighborhood around the Neosho Colored School was home to at least four churches in the late 1800s; two were Baptist and two were Methodist. At least three of those churches had predominantly black congregations. In some cases, local residents attended Churches of both denominations. Calvin Jefferson recalled that he and George Washington Carver "went to Sunday School twice a day. Baptist in the morning, A. M. E. in the afternoon."[88]

[83] Greene, et al., *Missouri's Black Heritage*, 68.
[84] Mary Jean Barker, "Second Baptist Church," National Register Nomination, 1995, 8.3.
[85] Barker, "Second Baptist Church," 8.3.
[86] Downs and Masur, The Era of Reconstruction, 1861-1900: A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study, 27.
[87] William E. Parrish, *A History of Missouri Volume III: 1860 to 1875* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1973), 157.
[88] Tuskegee Field Notes, *Interview with Cal Jefferson,* 5-28-48.

Sunday school in particular was popular, as it was yet another path to education, especially for adults.

Wesley Chapel (Second Methodist Episcopal Church)

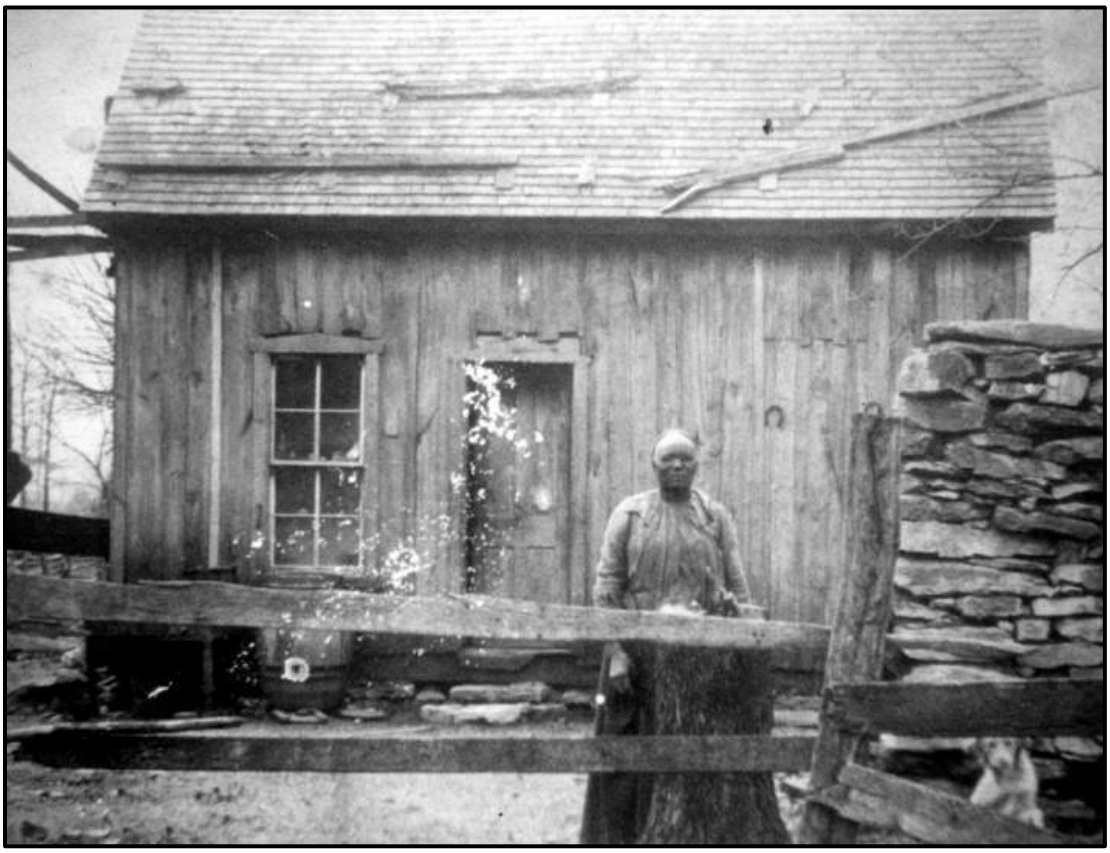
The A.M.E. Sunday school that Carver and Jefferson attended was probably affiliated with the Second Methodist Episcopal Church, which was organized in Neosho in 1876, the same year Carver moved to Neosho.[89] Jefferson also recalled that George went to "the African Methodist Church in New Town."[90] The church was established about the time the Carver moved to Neosho, in 1876, and they remained active in to the mid-1900s. The location of their first meeting house was described only as being in "the woods", with a note that in 1879, the congregation moved to Henning's Addition and built a frame church building at 429 Baxter Street. [91] In 1896, that building was replaced with a larger frame church, which became known as Wesley Chapel. A formal dedication ceremony for the new building included speakers from several different towns in the regions, including featured speaker Professor H. L. Billups of Sedalia, who spoke about the "future of the colored race."[92] The church had a membership of forty to fifty members in the late 1800s, but that number gradually dwindled and it closed in the 1960s. The building sat empty for years and was lost to fire in the early 21st century.

At least 28 people included in the study group were members of that congregation, including **Vinnie Collins**. (See Figure 52.) Collins (b. ca. 1840 in Arkansas) was living in Martling in 1880 and 1900. She was a longtime housekeeper for **Ceaser Dodd**, a widower who was well known throughout the community. Dodd was described in the *History of Newton County*, as "as a black man who came from Texas to Newton County following the Civil War. He was well liked and respected by the townspeople."[93] He died in July 1915. He was remembered for having a team of Jennets "hitched to an old cart with rope." The cabin shared by Dodd and Collins was located north of Neosho, in Neosho Township. It was owned around 1890 by John and Mary Harlow, who are buried on the property. John Harlow was dead by the time of the 1900 census, which shows Mary as a widow, living in Neosho Township. That John Harlow was not the John W. Harlow who taught at the Neosho Colored School in the late 1880s, but they may have been related.

[89] Larry A. James and Kay Hively, comp, "*We Gather Together," A History of Newton County, Missouri, Churches.* Part 1. (Neosho, MO: Shoal Creek Heritage Preservation Committee, 2010) 82-83.
[90] Tuskegee Field Notes, *Interview with Cal Jefferson,* 5-28-48.
[91] James and Hively, "*We Gather Together,"* 82-83.
[92] James and Hively, "*We Gather Together,"* 82-83.
[93] Jobe, *History of Newton County*, 30.

Figure 52. Vinnie Collins.

This photo is believed to have been taken in front of the Caesar Dodd cabin. It was part of an early exhibit for Thomas Hart Benton Day. Photo courtesy of Larry James.

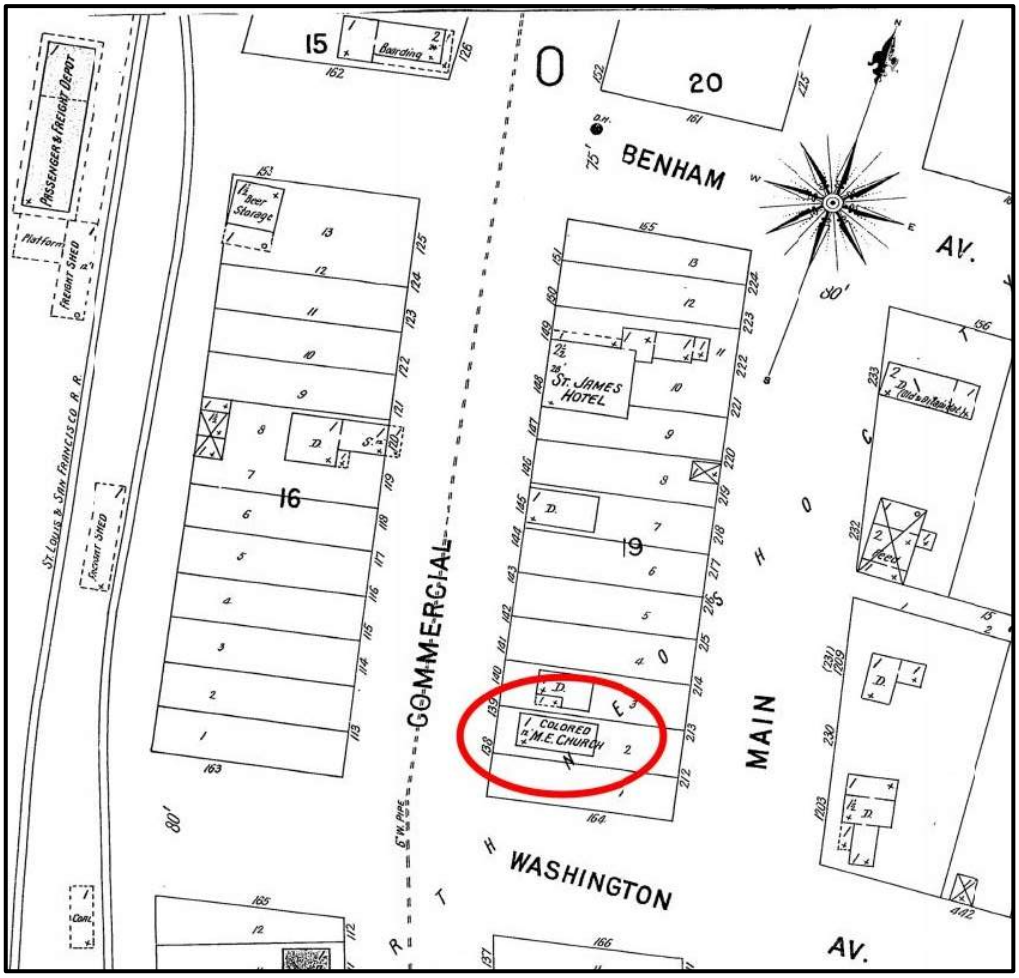


M. E. Church on Commercial Street

There was another A.M. E. church in operation about the same time as Wesley Chapel. That church was in Martling around the turn of the twentieth century. It was located near the northeast corner of the intersection of Washington Ave. and Commercial St., just south of the St. James Hotel. Sanborn maps show that the church started out using a small house between 1891 and 1896, and that they built a new one story church building in nearly the same location before 1902. That building remained in service at least until 1907, and it was gone by 1916. [94] The 1896 map labels it simply as a "Negro Church" and in 1902 it is called a "Colored M. E. Church." The 1900 census includes listings for three men serving as ministers in 1900; one or more of them may have been associated with that church: **Albert Talbot** (b. 1859), **Sam Pitcher** (b. 1865) and **G. H. Johnson** (b. 1856).

[94] Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps of Neosho, 1891-1916.

Figure 53. Map Showing "Colored M. E. Church" in Martling.
1902 Sanborn Map of Neosho, 7.



Second Baptist Church

One the largest and best known nineteenth century black churches in Neosho, the Second Baptist Church, is still active. The congregation occupies a substantial brick building that was built in 1896. That congregation was one of the first African American organizations of any type to be formed in Neosho. They may have been meeting as early as 1866, and the church was officially established in the spring of 1876, when the congregation banded together to purchase three lots on Grant Street, just south of Henning's Addition. They built a one-story frame church on that land and used it into the mid-1890s, when it was demolished to make way for the present brick building.[95] The brick building was completed in 1896, and it has seen few external alterations since that time. (See Figures 54 and 55.)

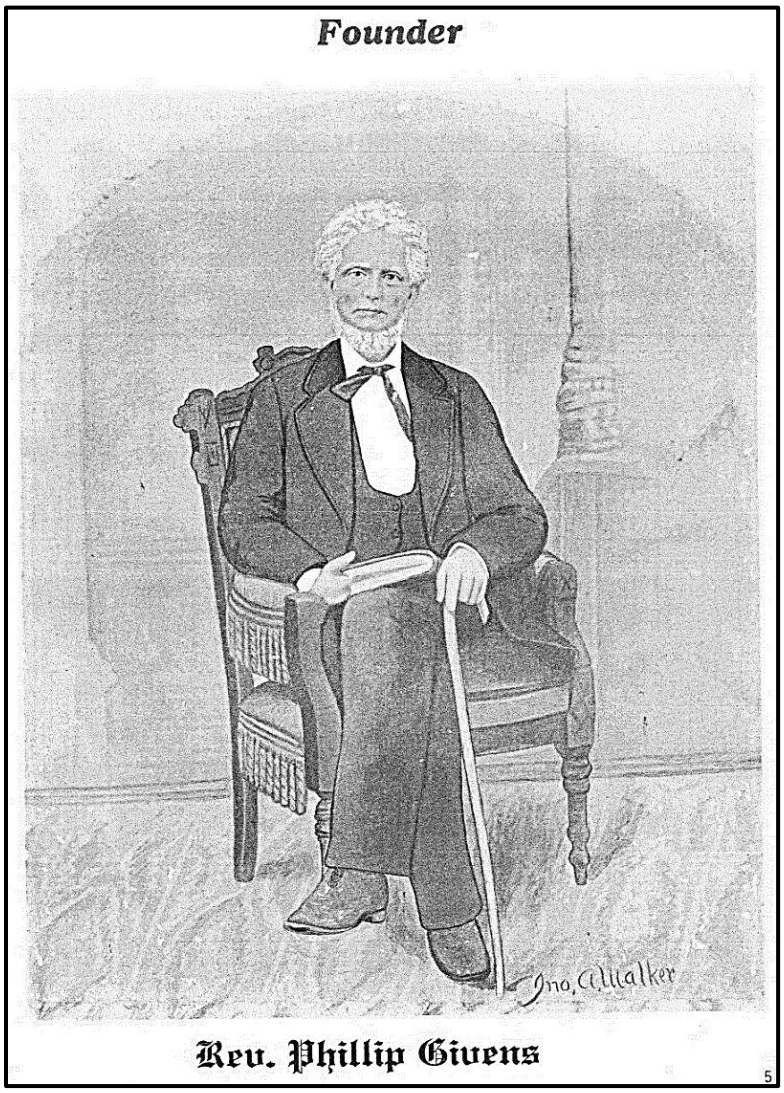
[95] Second Baptist Church, *We've Come This Far By Faith: Centennial Anniversary,* 10.

Figure 54. Second Baptist Church.
Photo taken 2011 by Deb Sheals.

Figure 55. Second Baptist Church Congregation, ca. 1896.
This photo was probably taken when the building was dedicated in 1896.
Second Baptist Church, *We've Come This Far By Faith: Centennial Anniversary* (Neosho: MO, 1976), 10.
Photo file courtesy Larry James.

The Second Baptist Church was founded by Rev. Phillip Givens, who according to a church history, joined with "a band of dedicated followers" to establish the church 1876. It has been assumed that that account was referring to **Phillip Givens, Sr.**, who was 76 in 1876. His son, **Phillip Givens, Jr.** also served as a minister, but not until later. Philip Givens, Sr. and his wife Hannah were natives of Kentucky who were living in Neosho by 1869. Phillip Givens officiated in the wedding of **Benjamin Gibson** and **Myra Halsel** that year.[96] The Givens' and Gibsons were part of the large group of black families believed to have established the "Gibson Settlement." (See Figure 39, above.)

Figure 56. Phillip Givens, Sr. Founding pastor of the Second Baptist Church.
Second Baptist Church, *We've Come This Far By Faith: Centennial Anniversary* (Neosho: MO, 1976), 5.



[96] Newton County Marriage records, accessed May 2018, Ancestry.com.

Phillip Givens, Jr., then 21, was in school that year, and it is possible that he continued his education long enough to have been a student at the Neosho Colored School when it opened in 1872. By 1880, Phillip Givens Jr. had also become a minister, and he and his wife Cordelia were sharing a house with Hanna and Phillip Givens, Sr. They were still in the area in 1900, when Givens Jr. was working as a farmer and their household included nine children.

The Second Baptist Church building doubled as a social center, hosting community events as well as religious activities. The completion ceremony for the first graduating class of students from the new Lincoln School was held there in 1894. That class consisted of two girls and one boy, and the ceremony included music and recitations. Half of the church was reserved for white visitors, teachers and members of the Board of Education.[97] Weddings at the church were known to be major social events as well. The wedding of **Lizzie Beard** and **Dee Thomas** around 1895 reportedly drew some 400 guests, which would have been all of most of the local African American community.[98] The 1900 census recorded a black population of 454 in Neosho and Neosho Township.

The brick church was also the site of a public address by George Washington Carver, who spoke there during a visit to Neosho in 1908. The Neosho *Daily Searchlight* promised readers that "Professor Carver, a Neosho boy who has striven to the top" would "give an analytical and spectacular demonstration on the effects of narcotics upon the human body at the colored Baptist Church."[99]

The Second Baptist Church in Neosho was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1995, for significance in the area of Ethnic Heritage-Black. That designation recognized the important role the church played in the African American community over the years. As noted in the National Register nomination, the "Second Baptist Church still stands tall as a center for Neosho's African American culture, serving also as the community's social and cultural focus. The church provided the community with a haven of rest in a changing world."[100]

Racial Violence

As incidents of racial violence increased in the later years of the 1800s, the black community in Neosho was able to draw strength from the social network that had been developing over the past several decades. That network included church leaders, who were often the primary figures of authority in the back community. As noted in the National Register form for the Second Baptist Church, "the community drew most of its leaders from the church."[101] That

[97] Barker, "Second Baptist Church," 8.4.
[98] Barker, "Second Baptist Church," 8.3.
[99] *Daily Searchlight.* August 11, 1908. Transcript of a newspaper article on file at the George Washington Carver National Monument (GWCA) Diamond, Missouri.
[100] Barker, "Second Baptist Church," 8.1.
[101] Barker, "Second Baptist Church," 8.4.

type of leadership was in particular demand in 1894, when **Hulett Heyden**, a young man who had grown up in Neosho, was lynched by a white mob in the nearby city of Monett.[102]

In 1880, Hulett Heyden, b. ca. 1873, was living in Neosho with his family. The 1880 census shows that he attended school that year, and he was probably a student of the Neosho Colored School. His mother, **Ann Heyden** (b. ca. 1850) is listed as a Neosho resident in the 1880 and 1900 census. In 1880, she was a single parent and the head of her household, which included Hulett and his sister **Mary Heyden** (b. ca. 1870), as well as 2 year old **Elijah Webb**, who was also listed as her son.[103] Mary Heyden was also a likely student of the Neosho Colored School, and was of an age that she could have been a classmate of George Washington Carver's. (Hulett would likely have been too young to be a classmate.) There were also two teenagers named Heyden working as live-in servants in other households that year who may have been Mary' Heyden's children. They were **Manuel Heyden**, b. ca. 1864 and **Emma Heyden**, b. ca. 1865. Neither of the older children are known to have attended school in Neosho.

Hulett Heyden's lynching was covered in the local newspaper, as was a statement put out by local black community leaders a few days later. The accounts are not long, and they bear repeating verbatim here:

"A Negro Lynched"

Hewlett Hayden [sic] the negro charged with the shooting and killing of Brakeman Greenwood of Monett was arrested last Thursday about five miles east of Neosho, by Marshall Holland of Neosho, assisted by Robert Smith of the same city.

Marshall Holland and Robert Smith took the prisoner on the east bound train Thursday evening to deliver him at Cassville to the sheriff of Barry county.

A constable at Monett wanted the prisoner to be turned over to him, but the Neosho officers would not do this. When the train left Monett on the Arkansas division, Marshall Holland and his deputy were locked in a car with the prisoner. When about one half mile from Monett, the train was suddenly stopped to let off some men who had boarded the train without tickets, but the men, instead of getting off unlocked the door of the car, where the prisoner was, and rushed into the car and took the prisoner. The marshall and his deputy refused at first to give up the negro but soon found that resistance was useless. A rope was thrown around Hayden's neck and he was dragged out of the car and hanged by a telegraph pole until he was dead. There were from fifty to a hundred in the lunching party and none were disguised….[104]

[102] "A Negro Lynched," *Newton County News* (Neosho, MO), July 5, 1894, 3. Heyden's name was sometimes spelled Hewlett Hayden in newspaper accounts, but Hulett Heyden appears to have been the preferred spelling.
[103] 1880 Census, Neosho Township, Enum. Dist.107, p. 29.
[104] "A Negro Lynched," 3.

The episode spurred action from the local African American community, who issued the following statement a few days after Heyden was killed.

> *At a meeting of the Colored citizens of Neosho, MO, the following resolutions were adopted in regard to the hanging of the colored boy, Hulett Heyden, by a mob at Monett on the 28th day of June 1894:*
>
> *Resolved, That we the colored citizens of Neosho are opposed to and condemn all violations of law by our own race and that we do not now, as we have not in the past, condoned or excused in any manner, offenses committed by our people, and that we are not and have been at all times ready and willing to aid and resist the proper authorities to bring any of our people to trail who may commit any offenses against the law.*
>
> *Resolved, That it is our dearest desire to live with a proper sense of our manhood and self-respect as good citizens in the peaceable possessions of our rights as citizens of this State and of the United States.*
>
> *Resolved, That we have heard with grief and a sense of injured justice of the hanging by a mob at Monett, Mo of our fellow townsman, Hulett Heyden, a young man who had been brought up among us.*
>
> *Resolved, That we proclaim it our belief, after careful inquiry, that young Heyden, the victim of the mob outrage, was not the party who did the shooting resulting in the death of the brakeman, Greenwood, who with several other drunken men were compelling several colored boys to dance, having knocked one or two of them down.*
>
> *Resolved, That we call upon all good people, irrespective of color, who have the good name of our section at heart, to frown and show their disappropriation of the practices, too common in this section, of drunken hoodlums compelling colored boys and men to dance for their amusement.*
>
> *Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting, that Judge Lamson, of this Judicial district, be requested to instruct the Grand Jury of Barry county to make a thorough investigation at the earliest possible time, of all the circumstances attending the hanging by the mob at Monett, of young Hulett Heyden, with the view of bringing to justice as many as possible of who participated in the outrage.*
>
> *Resolved, That our sense of justice and of manhood appeals to us impress the seriousness of this outrage upon all law loving people, so that there will not likely be a recurrence of it in this section soon.*
>
> *Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be furnished his honor, judge Lamson of this judicial district.*
>
> *Wm. Baker, Secretary* *S. H. Houston, Chairman.*
> *Neosho, MO July 2, 1894.*[105]

The two men who signed that statement were both members of the Second Baptist Church and former students of the Neosho Colored School. It is likely that both of them were at the school at the same time as George Washington Carver. Samuel H. Houston, the chairman of

[105] *Neosho Miner and Mechanic*, July 4, 1894, p. 3

the group, had been a Neosho resident since the mid-1870s, and served as a Trustee of the Second Baptist Church in the late 1890s. He attended the Neosho Colored School with George Washington Carver, and went on to have a successful career as a brick mason. (He may have been involved in the construction of the Second Baptist Church building in 1896. His position as the chair of the committee indicates a high standing in the community, and the quality of the writing in the published statement shows that he put his education to good use.

William Baker (b. 1869), who was listed as the Secretary, lived in Martling in 1880, and in Neosho in 1900. He was a likely student of the Neosho Colored School in 1880, and he was of an age that he could have been a classmate of George Washington Carver's in the late 1870s. He was also an active member of the Second Baptist Church. He and his family attended the dedication of the brick building in 1896, and in 1900 he and his family were living with Stephen Frost, who was a trustee of the Second Baptist Church.

The eloquent and well-reasoned statement composed by Houston, Baker and the other members of the group stands as a testament to the quality of education they received in Neosho, and to the cohesion of the local black community. That type of support was to be needed more and more in coming years, as incidents of racial violence increased in southwest Missouri and northern Arkansas. Lynchings in several nearby towns, including Springfield and Pierce City, along with job opportunities in other areas, spurred large numbers of African Americans to leave the region. Many of the neighboring counties saw a marked decrease in black residents in the early twentieth century. In Lawrence County, which was the site of a violent lynching in 1901, for example, the black population dropped from 364 in 1890, to just 91 in 1910.[106]

Neosho and Newton County also lost African American residents in that time period, but the drop was not as precipitous. One study of the era noted that Newton was one of only three counties in the region to retain "a significant black minority."[107] (The other two were Japser and Greene Counties.) There was a noticeable decrease, however. In 1900, there were 454 residents in Neosho and Neosho Township alone, and by 1920, there were just 318 in the entire county.[108] Longtime resident Lena King, who was interviewed in the 1950s, recalled that there had been "many more colored folk" living in Neosho at the beginning of the twentieth century, and she remembered that some 25 families moved away from Neosho at the same time, after finding work in the mines of Kansas.[109] Many others stayed however, and the community has maintained has a small black population to the present. In 2014, 263 of

[106] Kimberly Harper, *White Man's Heaven: The Lynching and Expulsion of Blacks in the Southern Ozarks, 1894-1909,* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2010) 253.
[107] Harper, *White Man's Heaven,* 253.
[108] Fourteenth Census, Volume 3. *Pop ulation 1920* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872) 551-58.
[109] Jobe, *History of Newton County,* 30.

the 12,134 residents of Neosho were African American, which comprises just over 2% to the total. By comparison, in 1900, Neosho had a total population of 2,725, and there were 454 African Americans living in Neosho and Neosho Township.[110] The 900-plus African Americans who lived in and around Neosho between 1865 and 1900 represent a significant percentage of the historic black population of the community.

Conclusion

Slavery involved more than physical bondage. Enslaved persons were also frequently denied the opportunity for mental and social development. With the end of slavery, freedpeople came to see access to education as a symbol of freedom as well as a path to self-sufficiency.

The Neosho Colored School was established just a few years after slavery ended, at a time when millions of African Americans were working to create a new life for themselves and their children. The "Colored School" in Neosho was one of the earliest black schools in Newton County, and it played an important role in the African American community of Neosho. The first students to attend the school present a representative sampling of African American education of the time. They ranged from young children who were born free, to young adults who had grown up in an era where they could be whipped simply for holding a book in their hand.

Both before and after the Civil War African Americans struggled to satisfy a thirst for knowledge that is a fundamental part of being human. Some, like George Washington Carver, were able to overcome tremendous personal challenges to acquire an education, while others never even really became aware that such a thing was an option for them. Sadly, more than 150 years after the end of slavery, some still face comparable hurdles. All citizens of the country have a legal right to a free public education, but equality among those school has proven to be elusive.

Carver was able to achieve much of what he did with the help of friends and acquaintances that he met along the way. It is hoped that future visitors to the 1872 Neosho Colored School will come away with a better understanding of what has happened in the past, an appreciation for some of the things we take for granted today, and a commitment to support and enhance equal rights going forward.

[110] "Population of Neosho, MO," *Population.us*, June 1 2018, http://population.us/mo/neosho/, and African American Database.

Quick Reference Part D.

Suggested Readings on African-Americans in Neosho 1865-1900

Barker, Mary Jean. "Second Baptist Church," National Register of Historic Places Inventory Form, 1995.

"Database of African Americans living in Neosho Township, Missouri, 1865-1900." Compiled by Debbie Sheals, 2017-2018. On file at George Washington Carver National Monument.

James, Larry A., and Kay Hively, comp. "*We Gather Together" A History of Newton County, Missouri, Churches.* Part 1. Neosho, MO: Shoal Creek Heritage Preservation Committee, 2010.

Jobe, Sybil Shipley. *A History of Newton County As Portrayed in the Courthouse Mural.* Cassville, MO: Newton County Historical Society, 1998.

Timeline of Major Events 1865-1900

1865, January 31. U. S. Senate approved the Thirteenth Amendment, which ended slavery throughout the country.[111]

1866 Newton County had a total of 51 black children and 2,618 white children.[112]

1870 Population of Neosho is 875.
There were 123 African Americans living in and around Neosho.
There were 23 African Americans attending school in Neosho, in rented quarters.
One African American owned real estate.[113]

1872 Neosho Colored School opens.

1876, ca. George Washington Carver moves to Neosho to attend school.

1876 Second Methodist Episcopal Church Founded. They built a frame church in 1879.

[111] Downs and Masur, *Era of Reconstruction*, 66.
[112] *Goodspeed's History of Newton County*, 104.
[113] "Population of Neosho, MO," *Population.us*, June 1 2018, http://population.us/mo/neosho/, and African American Database.

1876 Second Baptist Church established. They built a frame church on Grant Street soon after.

1878 George Washington Carver leaves Neosho to attend school in Kansas.

1880 Population of Neosho is 1,631.
There were 400 African Americans living in and around Neosho.
There were 87 African Americans attending school in Neosho, and it is likely all were students of the Neosho Colored School.
Eighteen African Americans owned real estate.[114]

1890, ca. M. E. Church on Commercial Street begins meeting in a one story house. They built a new one story church between 1896 and 1902, and that building was demolished before 1916.

1891 New one story, two-room brick school built for black students. It was named Lincoln School. Neosho Colored School was closed. In 1941, a second Lincoln School was built just south of the first one. It was a stone building.

1893 School board sells the Neosho Colored School building and it returns to residential use.

1894 Neosho native Hulett Heyden is lynched near Monett. The "Colored Citizens of Neosho" issue a statement condemning the crime and recent related racial episodes.

1896 Second Baptist Church replaces its older frame church with a brick building. The brick building is still in use.

1896 Second Methodist Episcopal Church replaces its older frame church as well. The new building, which was called Wesley Chapel, was lost to fire in the 2010s.

1900 The population of Neosho is 2,725.
There were 454 African Americans living in and around Neosho
There were 76 African Americans attending school in Neosho.
Twenty eight African Americans owned real estate.[115]

1900 ca. Lena King recalled that at the beginning of the century "there were many more colored folks than now." Some 25 families left at one time.[116]

[114] "Population of Neosho, MO," *Population.us*, June 1 2018, http://population.us/mo/neosho/, and African American Database.
[115] "Population of Neosho, MO," *Population.us*, June 1 2018, http://population.us/mo/neosho/, and African American Database.
[116] Jobe, *History of Newton County*, 30.

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Interpretive Goals from The Golden Door of Freedom

Goal 1. *Describe slavery in antebellum Missouri and explain post-war race relationships as African Americans moved from slavery to free citizenship.*

Goal 2. *Provide historical facts of the extraordinary quest for education by George Washington Carver.*

Goal 3. *Clearly show disparities in educational opportunities and the ongoing struggles faced by African Americans in their pursuit for equality.*

Goal 4. *Highlight significant relationships during George Washington Carver's early years and how they impacted his life.*

Goal 5. *Make a real life connection to the struggle for civil rights.*

Questions and Answers

Part A. Slavery in Missouri: 1821-1865

Q: What was the Missouri Compromise?

A: In 1821, after much discussion about preserving the national balance of free states to slave states, Missouri entered the union as a slave state and Maine entered as a free state, to maintain equal numbers of free and slave states. Additionally, is was decreed that all Louisiana Purchase land located north of 36 degrees and 30 minutes North Latitude that was not located in Missouri would be forever free. (That line lies roughly at the southern border of Missouri.)

Q: What were the Black Codes?

A: The Black Codes were a series of laws related to slavery and the treatment of African Americans. They were used in most slave states and territories, including Missouri. The Black Codes limited the rights of enslaved persons and even defined who would be legally considered black. They were enacted in a large part to control the slave population and guard against rebellions.

Q: Could African Americans go to school in Missouri before the Civil War?

A: Not after 1847, when Missouri passed a law making it illegal to teach any African American to read or write. There were only a few schools for African Americans in operation before that date; nearly all of those were for free blacks and were in major cities.

Q: How did settlement patterns in Missouri impact the practice of slavery in the state?

A: Attitudes about slavery and the treatment of enslaved persons often varied depending on the amount of land a person owned. One comprehensive study of the WPA slave narratives identified farm size as one the major determinants of how enslaved persons attached to those properties were treated. Numerous historians have observed that slaves on small farms tended to be treated better than those who lived on large plantations.

Q: What are the dates of the Civil War?

A: On April 12, 1861, the issue of slavery took on a national scope, with the onset of the Civil War. The war lasted four years. Missouri and the U. S. Congress both passed laws ending slavery in January, 1865, and the Civil War officially ended when General Lee surrendered to General Grant at Appomattox Courthouse on April 9, 1865.

Part B. Civil Rights from Reconstruction to Segregation: 1865-1900.

Q: What was Reconstruction?

A: Reconstruction was the period immediately following the Civil War, in which efforts were made to heal the scars of war and reconstruct the Union. A major component of that effort was addressing the needs of the four million newly freed African Americans. In general, Reconstruction began with the Civil War in 1861, and lasted to the end of the century.

Q: What were the major civil rights laws of the late nineteenth century?

A: The years following the Civil War saw several major legislative changes to enhance Civil rights for African Americans.

The 13th Amendment *freed all enslaved person. Passed and ratified in 1865.*

The 14th Amendment *that all persons born in the United States were citizens and were entitled to equal protection under the law. Passed in 1866, ratified in 1870. (This did not include Native Americans, who were not granted citizenship until the 1920s.)*

The Civil Rights Act of 1866 *stipulated that "citizens of every race and color, without regard to any previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude" were to be afforded certain rights. Passed in 1866.*

The 15th Amendment *gave black men the vote. Passed in 1869, ratified in 1870.*

The Civil Rights Act of 1875 *made it a crime to deny access to public services on the basis of "race and color." Passed in 1875, overturned by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1883.*

Q: What was the Freedmen's Bureau?

A: The Freedmen's Bureau was established by Congress to offer aid to "suffering refugees and freedmen and their wives and children."[1] It was established in 1865 and remained active into the 1870s. The Bureau's work in the creation and support of schools for African Americans has been described as "the agency's greatest success in the postwar South."[2]

Q: What is Jim Crow?

A: Jim Crow has been defined as "the legal, quasi-legal, or customary practice of disenfranchising, physically segregating, barring, or discriminating against black Americans."[3] It began during Reconstruction, and was at its strongest from the 1890s to the 1960s.

Q: What was the Exodus?

A: The Exodus was the first large scale movement of African Americans out of the South. It began in the 1870s, after federal protections of Civil Rights began to erode.

Q: What was Plessy v Ferguson?

A: Plessy v Ferguson was an anti-discrimination case that went to the Supreme Court in 1896. The resulting court ruling established the concept of "separate but equal" and legalized racial segregation in the United States.[4]

Part C. Education for African Americans: 1865-1900

Q: What was the role of freedpeople in the creation of educational systems in the south during Reconstruction?

A: Freedpeople were very active in the movement to establish free public schools for all in southern states. As each of the former Confederate states set about the task of writing new state constitutions, freedpeople were able to use their newfound political power to ensure that public education was included in the new constitutions. Additionally, Freedmen's Bureau reports show that a substantial number of the new black schools that were created in the late 1860s were financed at least in part by freedpeople.

[1] "Law Creating the Freedmen's Bureau: CHAP. XC.–An Act to establish a Bureau for the Relief of Freedmen and Refugees," Freedmen & Southern Society Project, accessed August 2017, http://www.freedmen.umd.edu/fbact.htm.
[2] Foner, *Reconstruction, America's Unfinished Revolution*, 144.
[3] Packard, *American Nightmare*, 15.
[4] Downs and Masur, *Era of Reconstruction*, 76.

Q: When did Missouri begin to mandate free public schools for African Americans?

A: On January 11, 1865 the state of Missouri passed the Emancipation Act of 1865, to abolish slavery in the state, and just a few weeks later, adopted a new constitution that required the provision of free educational facilities for all children, including "colored children," but also required that black children be taught in separate facilities [5]

Q: When and where did George Washington Carver attend school?

A: Carver attended school in ten different communities and three states. His public school career, which included primary and secondary school, began in earnest at the 1872 Neosho Colored School ca. 1876, and ended in Minneapolis, Kansas in 1884. His college career began in Kansas City, Kansas in 1884 and concluded with a Master's degree from Iowa State University in 1896.

Q: Are any of those other public schools that he went to still standing?

A: No. The 1872 Neosho Colored School is the only physical link to George Washington Carver's long career in public school; it is the only surviving primary or secondary educational facility in which he attended classes.

Part D. African Americans in Neosho: 1865-1900

Q: How many of the African Americans living in the area between 1865 and 1900 had been enslaved?

A: Of the 911 African Americans who lived in Neosho between 1865 and 1900, at least 341 were born before 1865 in slave states. Most of those 341 people were probably enslaved at some point in their lives.

Q: How many people attended the Neosho Colored School in the years it was open?

A: A review of records has identified 118 different students who are likely to have attended the Neosho Colored School. It is likely that there were many others that have yet to be identified.

Q: Had any of the students of the school been enslaved in the past?

A: Yes. Of those recorded as attending school in the census, 27 were born before 1865 in slave states. In all probability, all or most of those persons were born enslaved.

Q: Were there other African American Schools in Neosho?

A: Yes. One other black school operated intermittently in Martling in the 1880s. There were also two black schools, both named Lincoln School; the first Lincoln School was built in 1891 and the second was completed in 1941.

[5] Williams, *School System*, 138.

Q: Where did most of the African Americans in Neosho live in the late 1800s?

A: Most of the African Americans in Neosho lived in the north part of town. Many lived in Henning's Addition to Neosho, or in Martling, which was just north of Henning's Addition.

Q: Were there other African American cultural sites in the neighborhood in the late 1800s?

A: Yes, at least three different black churches were active 1865 and 1900: Second Baptist Church, Second Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Colored M. E. Church.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1.

Nineteenth Century Civil Rights Legislation

Summary:
The 13th Amendment *freed all enslaved person. Passed and ratified in 1865.*

The 14th Amendment *that all persons born in the United States were citizens and were entitled to equal protection under the law. Passed in 1866, ratified in 1870.* (This act did not include Native Americans, who were not recognized as citizens until the 1920s.)

The 15th Amendment *gave black men the vote. Passed in 1869, ratified in 1870.*

The Civil Rights Act of 1866 *stipulated that "citizens of every race and color, without regard to any previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude" were to be afforded certain rights. Passed in 1866.*

The Civil Rights Act of 1875 *made it a crime to deny access to public services on the basis of "race and color." Passed in 1875, overturned by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1883.*Q: What was the Freedmen's Bureau?

Full Text

13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution

https://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/amendmentxv

The 13th Amendment

Section 1: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

Section 2: Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The 14th Amendment

Section 1: "All persons born or naturalized within the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce and lay which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Section 2: "Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state."

Section 3: "No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any state, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any state legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any state, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such a disability."

Section 4: "The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States not any state shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void."

Section 5: "The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article."

The 15th Amendment

Section 1: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

Section 2: "The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The Civil Rights Act of 1866

http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/the-civil-rights-act-of-1866/

An Act to protect all Persons in the United States in their Civil Rights, and furnish the Means of their Vindication.

Section 1: Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all persons born in the United States and not subject to any

foreign power, excluding Indians not taxed, are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States; and such citizens, of every race and color, without regard to any previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall have the same right, in every State and Territory in the United States, to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, and give evidence, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property, and to full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property, as is enjoyed by white citizens, and shall be subject to like punishment, pains, and penalties, and to none other, any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Section 2: And be it further enacted, That any person who, under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, shall subject, or cause to be subjected, any inhabitant of any State or Territory to the deprivation of any right secured or protected by this act, or to different punishment, pains, or penalties on account of such person having at any time been held in a condition of slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, or by reason of his color or race, than is prescribed for the punishment of white persons, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction, shall be punished by fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both, in the discretion of the court.

Section 3: And be it further enacted, That the district courts of the United States, within their respective districts, shall have, exclusively of the courts of the several States, cognizance of all crimes and offences committed against the provisions of this act, and also, concurrently with the circuit courts of the United States, of all causes, civil and criminal, affecting persons who are denied or cannot enforce in the courts or judicial tribunals of the State or locality where they may be any of the rights secured to them by the first section of this act; and if any suit or prosecution, civil or criminal, has been or shall be commenced in any State court, against any such person, for any cause whatsoever, or against any officer, civil or military, or other person, for any arrest or imprisonment, trespasses, or wrongs done or committed by virtue or under color of authority derived from this act or the act establishing a Bureau for the relief of Freedmen and Refugees, and all acts amendatory thereof, or for refusing to do any act upon the ground that it would be inconsistent with this act, such defendant shall have the right to remove such cause for trial to the proper district or circuit court in the manner prescribed by the "Act relating to habeas corpus and regulating judicial proceedings in certain cases," approved March three, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, and all acts amendatory thereof. The jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters hereby conferred on the district and circuit courts of the United States shall be exercised and enforced in conformity with the laws of the United States, so far as such laws are suitable to carry the same into effect; but in all cases where such laws are not adapted to the object, or are deficient in the provisions necessary to furnish suitable remedies and punish offences against law, the common law, as modified and changed by the constitution and statutes of the State wherein the court having jurisdiction of the cause, civil or criminal, is held, so far as the same is not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States, shall be extended to and govern said courts in the trial and disposition of such cause, and, if of a criminal nature, in the infliction of punishment on the party found guilty.

Section 4: And be it further enacted, That the district attorneys, marshals, and deputy marshals of the United States, the commissioners appointed by the circuit and territorial courts of the United States, with powers of arresting, imprisoning, or bailing offenders against the laws of the United States, the officers and agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, and every other officer who may be specially empowered by the President of the United States, shall be, and they are hereby, specially authorized and required, at the expense of the United States, to institute proceedings against all and every person who shall violate the provisions of this act, and cause him or them to be arrested and imprisoned, or bailed, as the case may be, for trial before such court of the United States or territorial court as by this act has cognizance of the offence. And with a view to affording reasonable protection to all persons in their constitutional rights of equality before the law, without distinction of race or color, or previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, and to the prompt discharge of the duties of this act, it shall be the duty of the circuit courts of the United States and the superior courts of the Territories of the United States, from time to time, to increase the number of commissioners, so as to afford a speedy and convenient means for the arrest and examination of persons charged with a violation of this act; and such commissioners are hereby authorized and required to exercise and discharge all the powers and duties conferred on them by this act, and the same duties with regard to offences created by this act, as they are authorized by law to exercise with regard to other offences against the laws of the United States.

Section 5: And be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of all marshals and deputy marshals to obey and execute all warrants and precepts issued under the provisions of this act, when to them directed; and should any marshal or deputy marshal refuse to receive such warrant or other process when tendered, or to use all proper means diligently to execute the same, he shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in the sum of one thousand dollars, to the use of the person upon whom the accused is alleged to have committed the offense. And the better to enable the said commissioners to execute their duties faithfully and efficiently, in conformity with the Constitution of the United States and the requirements of this act, they are hereby authorized and empowered, within their counties respectively, to appoint, in writing, under their hands, any one or more suitable persons, from time to time, to execute all such warrants and other process as may be issued by them in the lawful performance of their respective duties; and the persons so appointed to execute any warrant or process as aforesaid shall have authority to summon and call to their aid the bystanders or possess committees of the proper county, or such portion of the land or naval forces of the United States, or of the militia, as may be necessary to the performance of the duty with which they are charged, and to insure a faithful observance of the clause of the Constitution which prohibits slavery, in conformity with the provisions of this act; and said warrants shall run and be executed by said officers anywhere in the State or Territory within which they are issued.

Section 6: And be it further enacted, That any person who shall knowingly and willfully obstruct, hinder, or prevent any officer, or other person charged with the execution of any warrant or process issued under the provisions of this act, or any person or persons lawfully assisting him or them, from arresting any person for whose apprehension such warrant or process may have been issued, or shall rescue or attempt to rescue such person from the custody of the officer, other person or persons, or those lawfully assisting as aforesaid, when so arrested pursuant to the authority herein given and declared, or shall aid, abet, or assist any person so arrested as

aforesaid, directly or indirectly, to escape from the custody of the officer or other person legally authorized as aforesaid, or shall harbor or conceal any person for whose arrest a warrant or process shall have been issued as aforesaid, so as to prevent his discovery and arrest after notice or knowledge of the fact that a warrant has been issued for the apprehension of such person, shall, for either of said offences, be subject to a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisonment not exceeding six months, by indictment and conviction before the district court of the United States for the district in which said offense may have been committed, or before the proper court of criminal jurisdiction, if committed within any one of the organized Territories of the United States.

Section 7: And be it further enacted, That the district attorneys, the marshals, their deputies, and the clerks of the said district and territorial courts shall be paid for their services the like fees as may be allowed to them for similar services in other cases; and in all cases where the proceedings are before a commissioner, he shall be entitled to a fee of ten dollars in full for his services in each case, inclusive of all services incident to such arrest and examination. The person or persons authorized to execute the process to be issued by such commissioners for the arrest of offenders against the provisions of this act shall be entitled to a fee of five dollars for each person he or they may arrest and take before any such commissioner as aforesaid, with such other fees as may be deemed reasonable by such commissioner for such other additional services as may be necessarily performed by him or them, such as attending at the examination, keeping the prisoner in custody, and providing him with food and lodging during his detention, and until the final determination of such commissioner, and in general for performing such other duties as may be required in the premises; such fees to be made up in conformity with the fees usually charged by the officers of the courts of justice within the proper district or county, as near as may be practicable, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States on the certificate of the judge of the district within which the arrest is made, and to be recoverable from the defendant as part of the judgment in case of conviction.

Section 8: And be it further enacted, That whenever the President of the United States shall have reason to believe that offences have been or are likely to be committed against the provisions of this act within any judicial district, it shall be lawful for him, in his discretion, to direct the judge, marshal, and district attorney of such district to attend at such place within the district, and for such time as he may designate, for the purpose of the more speedy arrest and trial of persons charged with a violation of this act; and it shall be the duty of every judge or other officer, when any such requisition shall be received by him, to attend at the place and for the time therein designated.

Section 9: And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, or such person as he may empower for that purpose, to employ such part of the land or naval forces of the United States, or of the militia, as shall be necessary to prevent the violation and enforce the due execution of this act.

Section 10: And be it further enacted, That upon all questions of law arising in any cause under the provisions of this act a final appeal may be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States.

The Civil Rights Act of 1875

https://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/primarysourcesets/civil-rights/pdf/civilrightsact.pdf

Where it is essential to just government we recognize to just government we recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political; and it being the appropriate object of legislation to enact great fundamental principles into law: Therefore,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land or water, theaters or other places of public amusement; subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law, and applicable alike to citizens of every race and color, regardless of any previous condition of servitude.

Section 2: That any person who shall violate the foregoing section by denying to any citizen, except for reasons by law applicable to citizens of every race and color, and regardless of any previous condition of servitude, the full enjoyment of any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, or privileges in said section enumerated, or by aiding or inciting such denial, shall, for every such offense, forfeit and pay the sum of five hundred dollars to the person aggrieved thereby, to be recovered in an action of debt, with full costs; and shall also, for every such offense, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be fined not less than five hundred nor more than one thousand dollars, or shall be imprisoned not less than thirty days nor more than 1 year: Provided, That all persons may elect to sue for the penalty aforesaid or to proceed under their rights at common law and by State statutes and having so elected to proceed in the one mode or the other, their right to proceed in the other jurisdiction shall be barred. But this proviso shall not apply to criminal proceedings, either under this act or the criminal law of any State: And provided further, that a judgement for the penalty in favor of the party aggrieved, or a judgement upon an indictment, shall be a bar to either prosecution respectively.

Section 3: That the district and circuit courts of the United States shall have, exclusively of the courts of the several States, cognizance of all crimes and offenses against, and violations of, the provisions of this act; and actions for the penalty given by the preceding section may be prosecuted in the territorial, district, or circuit courts of the United States wherever the defendant may be found, without regard to the other party; and the district attorneys, marshals, and deputy marshals of the United States and commissioners appointed by the circuit and territorial courts of the United States, with powers of arresting and imprisoning or bailing offenders against the laws of the United States, are hereby specially authorized and required to institute proceedings against every person who shall violate the provisions of this act, and cause him to be arrested and

imprisoned or bailed, as the case may be, for trail before such court of the United states, or territorial court, as by law has cognizance of the offense, except in respect of the right of action accruing to the person aggrieved; and such district attorneys shall cause such proceedings to be prosecuted to their termination as in other cases: Provided that nothing contained in this section shall be constructed to deny or defeat any right of civil action accruing to any person, whether by reason of this act or otherwise, and any district attorney who shall willfully fail to institute and prosecute the proceedings herein required, shall, for every such offense, forfeit and pay the sum of five hundred dollars to the person aggrieved thereby, to be recovered by an action of debt, with full costs, and shall, on conviction thereof, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and fined not less than one thousand nor more than five thousand dollars: And provided further that a judgement for the penalty in favor of the party aggrieved against any such district attorney, or a judgement upon an indictment against any such district attorney, shall be a bar to either prosecution respectively.

Section 4: That no citizen possessing all other qualifications which are or may be prescribed by law shall be disqualified for service as grand or petit juror in any court of the United States, or of any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude; and any officer or other person charged with any duty in the selection or summoning of jurors who shall exclude or fail to summon any citizen for the cause aforesaid shall, on conviction thereof, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and be fined not more than five thousand dollars.

Section 5: That all cases arising under the provisions of this act in the courts of the United States shall be reviewable by the Supreme Court of the United States, without regard to the sum in controversy, under the same provisions and regulations as are now provided by law for the review of other causes said in court.

Appendix II

Likely Students of the Neosho Colored School

The 120 African Americans listed here attended school in Neosho between 1870 and 1880, most likely at the Neosho Colored School on Young Street. This list includes students specifically identified in historical accounts as well as all persons listed in the 1870 and 1880 census as having attended school within the year of the census.

First Name	Last Name	Place of Residence	Date of Birth		Likely Years in School
John	Alexander	Martling 1880	ca.	1870	1880
Rosa	Atkinson	Martling 1880	ca.	1866	1880
Lewis	Baker	Martling 1880	ca.	1870	1880
Mary	Baker	Martling 1880	ca.	1874	1880
William	Baker	Martling 1880	ca.	1869	1880
Henry	Baldwin	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1873	1880
Bettie	Barney	Neosho 1880	ca.	1866	1880
Joseph	Barney	Neosho 1880	ca.	1869	1880
Lola	Barney	Neosho 1880	ca.	1873	1880
Thomas	Berking	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1864	1880
William	Blakey	Neosho 1880	ca.	1872	1880
George	Carver	Diamond, Neosho, MO; Kansas: Iowa	ca.	1865	1876-1878, ca.
James	Carver	Diamond and Seneca, MO		1859	1876 possibly
Finas	Cook	Neosho 1880	ca.	1872	1880
Lydia	Cook	Neosho 1880	ca.	1868	1880
Sarah	Cook	Neosho 1880	ca.	1864	1880
Ely	Cooper	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1874	1880
Peter	Cooper	Neosho Township 1870, 1880, 1900	ca.	1848	1870
Fanny	Cooper	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1872	1880
Ed	Coulter	Neosho 1889-1892	ca.	1885	1889-92
Sarah	Cummins	Neosho Township 1870, 1880	ca.	1856	1870
Stone	Cummins	Neosho Township 1870	ca.	1864	1870
James	Cummins, Jr.	Neosho Township 1870, 1880	ca.	1858	1870
Andrew	Dale	Neosho Township 1870, 1880	*	1870	1880
Charles	Dale	Neosho Township 1870	ca.	1856	1870
Edmund	Dale	Martling 1880	ca.	1871	1880
Elvira	Dale	Martling 1880	ca.	1873	1880
Granville	Dale	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1874	1880
Joseph	Dale	Neosho Township 1870, 1880	ca.	1864	1870, 1880
Lucretia	Dale	Neosho Township 1870	ca.	1858	1870
Mary	Dale	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1866	1880
Matilda	Dale	Neosho Township 1870	ca.	1854	1870
Myra	Dale	Neosho Township 1870, 1880	ca.	1866	1880
Phillip	Dale	Martling 1880	ca.	1869	1880
Lula	Derricks	Neosho 1880	ca.	1870	1880
Jennie	Elliott	Neosho 1880	ca.	1873	1880
Edward	Emmerson	Neosho 1880	ca.	1877	
Frank	Emmerson	Neosho 1880	ca.	1873	1880
George	Emmerson	Neosho 1880, 1900	ca.	1873	
Lizzie	Emmerson	Neosho 1880	ca.	1868	1880
Lucy	Emmerson	Neosho 1880, 1900	ca.	1866	1880
Mary	Emmerson	Neosho 1880	ca.	1871	1880
Willie	Emmerson	Neosho 1880	ca.	1864	1880
Maggie	Fortner	Neosho 1889-1892	ca.	1885	1889-92
Eliza	Gibson	Neosho Township 1870		1856	1870
Flora	Gibson	Neosho Township 1870	ca.	1861	1870
William	Gibson	Neosho Township 1870,Martling 1880	ca.	1858	1870
Eliza	Gillam	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1871	1880
Ellen	Gillam	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1865	1880
Jennie	Gillam	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1873	1880
Julia	Gillam	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1869	1880
Thomas	Gillam, Jr.	Neosho Township 1880, 1900	ca.	1868	1880
Phillip	Givens, Jr.	Neosho Township 1870, 1880, 1900	ca.	1849	1870
Ulysses	Grant	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1872	1880
Will	Grant	Neosho 1880	ca.	1873	1880
Jane	Graves	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1873	1880
Flora	Green	Neosho 1880	ca.	1870	1880

First Name	Last Name	Place of Residence	Date of Birth		Years in School
James	Green	Neosho 1880	ca.	1866	1880
Lynda	Green	Neosho 1880	ca.	1872	1880
Andy	Handy	Neosho, ca. 1870s	ca.	1867	1870s, ca.
John	Handy	Neosho, ca. 1870s	ca.	1867	1870s, ca.
Lissie	Harlow	Neosho 1889-1892	ca.	1882	1889-92
James F. (Doc)	Harlow	Neosho ca. 1882-1890	ca.	1875	
John	Hatcher	Neosho 1870	ca.	1861	1870
Horace	Haulsey	Neosho 1880	ca.	1868	1880
Alice	Haywood	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1870	1880
Oda	Healy	Martling 1880, Neosho Township 1900	ca.	1868	1880
Tom	Helper	Neosho 1880	ca.	1873	1880
Hulett	Heyden	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1873	1880
Mary	Heyden	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1870	1880
Jennie	Horn	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1871	1880
Samuel	Houston	Neosho 1880, Neosho Township 1900		1857	1876
Calvin	Jefferson	Neosho 1880		1868	1880
Lavina (Vina)	Johnson	Neosho Township 1870, 1880, 1900	ca.	1867	1880
William	Johnson	Neosho Township 1880, 1900	ca.	1872	1880
John R.	Johnson	Neosho Township 1870, 1880, 1900	ca.	1866	1880
Newton	Jones	Neosho 1889-1892	ca.	1885	1889-92
Wesley	Kincade	Martling 1880	ca.	1858	1876, ca.
Jim	King	Neosho 1880	ca.	1870	1880
John	King	Neosho 1880	ca.	1873	1880
Lena	King (Scott)	Martling 1880, Neosho Twp 1900		1879	1880s
Docia	Leunicks	Neosho 1880	ca.	1868	1880
John	McClanahan	Martling 1880, Neosho Township 1900	ca.	1872	1880
Lizzie	McClanahan	Martling 1880	ca.	1874	1880
Anna	Moore	Neosho 1889-1892	ca.	1885	1889-92
Beulah	Moore	Neosho 1889-1892	ca.	1885	1889-92
Cecil	Moore	Neosho 1889-1892	ca.	1884	1889-92
Matt	Perry	Neosho, ca. 1870s		Unknown	1870s, ca.
Alexander	Petit	Neosho 1870	ca.	1849	1870
Odeal	Petit	Neosho 1870	ca.	1858	1870
John	Phillips	Neosho Township 1880, 1900	ca.	1854	
Anna Bell	Randolph	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1872	1880
George	Randolph	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1865	1880
Thomas	Randolph	Neosho, ca. 1870s	ca.	1867	1870s, ca.
Jack	Richardson	Neosho 1880	ca.	1870	1880
Mary	Richardson	Neosho 1880	ca.	1866	1880
Sam	Richardson	Neosho 1880	ca.	1868	1880
Richard	Roberts	Neosho 1880	ca.	1869	1880
Sandra	Roberts	Neosho 1880	ca.	1870	1880
Ula	Roberts	Neosho 1880	ca.	1872	1880
Wiley	Roberts	Neosho 1880	ca.	1873	1880
Willie Ann	Roberts	Neosho 1880	ca.	1876	
Henry	Sewell	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1872	1880
Roy	Signer	Neosho 1889-1892	ca.	1884	1889-92
William	Signer	Neosho 1889-1892	ca.	1883	1899-90
Dora	Thomas	Martling 1880	ca.	1872	1880
Elma	Thomas	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1872	1880
Hattie	Thomas	Martling 1880	ca.	1864	1880
Josephine	Thomas	Martling 1880	ca.	1872	1880
Mary	Thomas	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1869	1880
Minnie	Thomas	Martling 1880	ca.	1870	1880
Walter	Thomas	Neosho Township 1880, 1900	ca.	1871	1880
Amelia	(Thomas) Richardson	Martling 1880	ca.	1866	1880
George	Webb	Neosho Township 1880, 1900	ca.	1865	1880
Harrison	Webb	Neosho Township 1870, 1880	ca.	1864	1880
Jesse	Webb	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1862	1880
Mary	Webb	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1866	1880
Ulyssus	Webb	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1873	1880
William	Webb	Neosho Township 1870, 1880, 1900	ca.	1868	1880
Julia	Webb	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1868	1880
William	Webb	Neosho Township 1880	ca.	1870	1880
Perl	West	Neosho 1880	ca.	1870	1880
Ada	Wheeler	Martling 1880	ca.	1868	1880

Appendix III

Likely Classmates of George Washington Carver

The 64 people listed here could have been classmates of George Carver when he was in school in Neosho. Of that group, ten have been specifically identified in historical documents as classmates, and the rest were in school in 1880, and were of an age that they could have been there when Carver was, between 1876 and 1878.

First Name	Last Name	Birth Date		Year(s) in School	Relationship to G.W. Carver
John	Alexander	ca.	1870	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Rosa	Atkinson	ca.	1866	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Lewis	Baker	ca.	1870	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
William	Baker	ca.	1869	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Bettie	Barney	ca.	1866	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Joseph	Barney	ca.	1869	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Lydia	Cook	ca.	1868	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Sarah	Cook	ca.	1864	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Edmund	Dale	ca.	1871	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Joseph	Dale	ca.	1864	1870, 1880	Schoolmate at Young Street School
Mary	Dale	ca.	1866	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Myra	Dale	ca.	1866	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Phillip	Dale	ca.	1869	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Lula	Derricks	ca.	1870	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Lizzie	Emmerson	ca.	1868	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Lucy	Emmerson	ca.	1866	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Mary	Emmerson	ca.	1871	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Willie	Emmerson	ca.	1864	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Eliza	Gillam	ca.	1871	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Ellen	Gillam	ca.	1865	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Julia	Gillam	ca.	1869	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Thomas	Gillam, Jr.	ca.	1868	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Flora	Green	ca.	1870	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
James	Green	ca.	1866	1880	Schoolmate at Young Street School
Lynda	Green	ca.	1872	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Andy	Handy	ca.	1867	1870s, ca.	Schoolmate at Young Street School
John	Handy	ca.	1867	1870s, ca.	Schoolmate at Young Street School
John	Hatcher	ca.	1861	1870	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Horace	Haulsey	ca.	1868	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School

First Name	Last Name	Birth Date		Year(s) in School	Relationship to G.W. Carver
Alice	Haywood	ca.	1870	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Oda	Healy	ca.	1868	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Mary	Heyden	ca.	1870	1880	Possible schoolmate at Young Street School.
Jennie	Horn	ca.	1871	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Samuel	Houston		1857, April	1876	Schoolmate at Young Street School in 1876.
Calvin	Jefferson		1868, Apr. 14	1880	Schoolmate at Young Street School. Neighbor.
Lavina (Vina)	Johnson	ca.	1867, July	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
John R.	Johnson	ca.	1866, May	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Wesley	Kincade	ca.	1858	1876, ca.	Schoolmate at Young Street School
Jim	King	ca.	1870	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Docia	Leunicks	ca.	1868	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Benjamin	Marshal	ca.	1844	1870	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Matt	Perry		Unknown	1870s, ca.	Schoolmate at Young Street School
Alexander	Petit	ca.	1849	1870	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Odeal	Petit	ca.	1858	1870	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
John	Phillips	ca.	1854, Mar.		Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
George	Randolph	ca.	1865	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Thomas	Randolph	ca.	1867	1870s, ca.	Schoolmate at Young Street School
Jack	Richardson	ca.	1870	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Mary	Richardson	ca.	1866	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Sam	Richardson	ca.	1868	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Richard	Roberts	ca.	1869	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Sandra	Roberts	ca.	1870	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Mary	Thomas	ca.	1869	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Minnie	Thomas	ca.	1870	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Walter	Thomas	ca.	1871	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Amelia	(Thomas) Richardson	ca.	1866	1880	Schoolmate at Young Street School, Neighbor
George	Webb	ca.	1865	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Harrison	Webb	ca.	1864	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Mary	Webb	ca.	1866	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
William	Webb (1)	ca.	1868	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Julia	Webb (2)	ca.	1868	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
William	Webb (2)	ca.	1870	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Perl	West	ca.	1870	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School
Ada	Wheeler	ca.	1868	1880	Possible Schoolmate at Young Street School

Appendix IV: African American Residents of Neosho: 1865-1900

Name		Birthdate (ca.)	Place of Birth	Occupation	Year Listed in Census
Maria	Adams	1842, Mar.	Tennessee	Servant	Neosho Township 1900
Mary	Adams	1834, Jan.	Tennessee	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Hattie	Alexander	1875	Missouri	Child under age 10	Martling 1880
Ida	Alexander	1867	Kentucky	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Lillie	Alexander	1882, April	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
Luke	Alexander	1851, Oct.	Kentucky	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Mattie	Alexander	1887, Nov.	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
Myra	Alexander	1854	Missouri	Keeping House	Martling 1880
Sandy	Alexander	1842	Tennessee	Laborer	Martling 1880
William	Alexander	1876	Missouri	Child under age 10	Martling 1880
John	Alexander	1870	Missouri	Attending school	Martling 1880
John	Alexander	1892, Mar.	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
John	Armstrong	1844	Indian Territory, OK	Works in Livery Stable (1870, 1880)	Neosho 1870, 1880
Mary	Armstrong	1850	Arkansas	Keeping House	Neosho 1880
Carrie	Atkinson	1843	Missouri	Keeping House	Martling 1880
Patrick	Atkinson	1842	Missouri	Minister	Martling 1880
Rosa	Atkinson	1866	Missouri	Attending school	Martling 1880
James	Bailey	1868, June	Texas	Servant	Neosho Township 1900
Arametta	Baker	1852	Virginia	Keeping House	Martling 1880
Celia	Baker	1889, July	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
Coleman	Baker	1855	Kentucky	Blacksmith	Martling 1880
Emma	Baker	1869, Oct.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Lewis	Baker	1870	Texas	Attending school	Martling 1880
Maggie	Baker	1878	not listed	Child under age 10	Martling 1880
Mary	Baker	1874	Texas	Child under age 10	Martling 1880
Ophelia	Baker	1897, June	Missouri	Child under 10 in 1900	Neosho 1900
Ora	Baker	1897, June	Missouri	Child under 10 in 1900	Neosho 1900
William	Baker	1869	Texas	Attending school, 1880; No occupation 1900	Martling 1880, Neosho 1900
Mandy	Baldon	1855, Feb.	Missouri	No occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Sam	Baldon	1850, Jan.	Missouri	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Amanda	Baldwin	1854	Missouri	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1880
Henry	Baldwin	1873	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1880
Samuel	Baldwin	1847	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho Township 1880
Grundy	Barker	Unknown	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Ollie	Barker	1896, Sept.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Bettie	Barney	1866	Texas	Attending school	Neosho 1880
Joseph	Barney	1869	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho 1880
Lola	Barney	1873	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho 1880
Luke	Barney	1854	Alabama	Laborer	Neosho 1880
Mandy	Barney	1850	Missouri	Keeping House	Neosho 1880
Mary	Barton	1870	Arkansas	No Occupation in 1880	Neosho 1880
Rachael	Beacham	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Neosho 1876 possibly
Alfred	Beard	1872, Oct.	Kentucky	Hotel Cook	Neosho Township 1900
America	Beard	Unknown	Kentucky	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Lizzie	Beard	1875, Mar.	Kentucky	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Silas	Beard	1840, Jan.	Kentucky	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Charles	Berking	1866	Missouri	Works on Farm	Neosho Township 1880
Letitia	Berking	1849	Kentucky	Housekeeper	Neosho Township 1880
Thomas	Berking	1864	Missouri	Works on Farm	Neosho Township 1880
William	Blakey	1872	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho 1880
Chas. (Charles)	Blanton	1864	Arkansas	Laborer	Neosho 1880
Elbert	Blanton	1873	Kansas	No Occupation in 1880	Neosho 1880
Ella	Blanton	1877	Kansas	No Occupation in 1880	Neosho 1880

Appendix IV: African American Residents of Neosho: 1865-1900

Name		Birthdate (ca.)	Place of Birth	Occupation	Year Listed in Census
Willie	Blanton	1867	Kansas	No Occupation in 1880	Neosho 1880
Ellen	Blokey	1857	Missouri	Keeping House	Neosho 1880
John	Blokey	1855	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho 1880
Minnie	Blokey	1879	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho 1880
Eli	Bly	Unknown	Unknown	Farmer	Neosho 1876 possibly
Lilburn	Bly	1878	MIssouri	Child under age 10	Neosho 1880
Hariet	Botts	1849, Oct.	Tennessee	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Teston	Botts	1856, Mar.	Tennessee	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Alas	Boyd	1894, Oct.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Anney	Boyd	1891, May	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Armanda	Boyd	1816, June	Georgia	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Benjiman	Boyd	1892, Nov.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Cabell	Boyd	1898, June	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Celatine	Boyd	1883, July	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Daily	Boyd	1894, Oct.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
David	Boyd	1889, June	Missouri	Farm Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Elisabeth	Boyd	1857, Jan.	Virginia	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Gutavus	Boyd	1885, Sept.	Missouri	Farm Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Nelson	Boyd	1884, July	Missouri	Farm Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
William T.	Boyd, Jr.	1887, Mar.	Missouri	Farm Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
William C.	Boyd, Sr.	1846, Dec.	N. Carolina	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Harriet	Brackine	1800	Virginia	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1880
Sarah	Brandy	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Neosho 1876 possibly
Horace	Broady	1869	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1870
Joseph	Broady	1785	Virginia	No Occupation in 1870	Neosho Township 1870
Sarah	Broady	1805	Virginia	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1870, 1880
Blanche	Brooks	1888, May	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Carry	Brooks	1886, Sept.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Eam (Earnest)	Brooks	1879	Missouri	Child under age 10 in 1880; day laborer in 1900	Martling 1880, Neosho Township 1900
James	Brooks	1845, Jan.	North Carolina	Laborer	Martling 1880, Neosho Township 1900
Lewis	Brooks	1888, May	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Lulu	Brooks	1872	Missouri	Child under age 10	Martling 1880
Maria	Brooks	1882, April	Missouri	No occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Mariah	Brooks	1885	Unknown	Attending school	Neosho 1889-1892
Matilda	Brooks	1852, Sept.	Texas	Keeping House 1880, No occupation listed 1900	Martling 1880; Neosho Township 1900
Lee	Brown	Unknown	Unknown	Farmer	Neosho 1876 possibly
Dora	Buchanan	1864	Texas	Child under age 10	Neosho 1870
Joseph	Buchanan	1844	Missouri	Farm Laborer	Neosho 1870
Lea	Buchanan	1860	Texas	No occupation in 1870	Neosho 1870
Louisa	Buchanan	1855	Missouri	No occupation in 1870	Neosho 1870
Rachel	Buchanan	1844	Missouri	Keeping House	Neosho 1870
Luther	Buchane	1874	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho 1880
Abe	Callaway	1855	Louisiana	Porter at Hotel	Neosho 1880
Etty	Callaway	1875	Missouri	Child under age 10	Martling 1880
Frank	Callaway	1877	Missouri	Child under age 10	Martling 1880
Mattie	Callaway	1859	Texas	Keeping House	Martling 1880
Unnamed child	Callaway	1879	Missouri	Child under age 10	Martling 1880
David	Car	1845, Jan.	Kentucky	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
George	Car	1880, Feb.	Kentucky	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Malinda	Car	1871, April	Kentucky	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Mary	Car	1850, Sept.	Kentucky	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900

Appendix IV: African American Residents of Neosho: 1865-1900

Name		Birthdate (ca.)	Place of Birth	Occupation	Year Listed in Census
Alace	Carneyham	1852, Mar.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Fanney	Carneyham	1882, Feb.	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Joseph	Carneyham	1844, Dec.	Arkansas	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Paul	Carneyham	1885, May	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Shaon	Carneyham	1878, April	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Weldon	Carneyham	1879, July	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Tild	Carnins	1824, Dec.	Tennessee	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Clarry	Carter	1888, Jan.	Missouri	Child over age 10 in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Darren	Carter	1894, Nov.	Kansas	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Eliza	Carter	1874	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Ella	Carter	1876	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Frank	Carter	1875, Mar.	Maryland	Servant	Neosho Township 1900
Lucy	Carter	1870	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Mandy	Carter	1864, Sept.	Tennessee	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Mary	Carter	1878	Missouri	Child under age 10 in 1880; servant 1900	Neosho Township 1880
Nancy	Carter	1845	N. Carolina	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1880
Rosco	Carter	1886, Nov.	Kansas	Farm Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Thomas	Carter	1868	Missouri	No Occupation in 1880	Neosho Township 1880
Walking	Carter	1825, Mar.	Kentucky	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Walter	Carter	1891, Jan.	Kansas	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Washington	Carter	1831	Kentucky	Works on Farm	Neosho Township 1880
John	Carter (1)	1845, Mar.	Georgia	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
John	Carter (2)	1872	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
George	Carver	1864	Missouri	In school in 1880	Diamond and Neosho, MO; Kansas: Iowa
James	Carver	1859, Oct.	Missouri	Farm Laborer	Diamond, Seneca, MO
J. M.	Clendenon	1871	Tennessee	Mail Carrier, School Principal	Neosho 1910
Lewis	Clymer	1865	Louisiana	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Samuel	Coates	1864	Kentucky	Works on Farm	Neosho Township 1880
Emaline	Cock	1853	Missouri	Domestic Servant	Neosho 1870
Harry	Coleman	1889, Mar.	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
Vinnie	Collins	1840	Arkansas	Housekeeper	Martling 1880, 1900
Tom	Colman	1865	Texas	Working Brick Yard	Neosho 1880
Walter	Colyer	1861	Tennessee	Works on Farm	Martling 1880
Esick	Cook	1835	S. Carolina	Laborer	Neosho 1880
Finas	Cook	1872	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho 1880
Jane	Cook	1842	Kentucky	Servant	Neosho 1880
Lydia	Cook	1868	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho 1880
Sarah	Cook	1864	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho 1880
Charles (Charley)	Cooper	1844	Virginia	Farmer	Neosho Township 1870, 1880, 1900
Edward	Cooper	1877	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Eli	Cooper	1849	Texas	Farmer/attending school 1870; 1880 farmer; 1900 farmer	Neosho Township 1870, 1880, 1900
Eliza	Cooper	1849, Mar.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Ely	Cooper	1874	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Ernest	Cooper	1880	Not listed in census	Child under age 10	Martling 1880
Harriet	Cooper	1857	Missouri	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1880
Julius	Cooper	1842	Virginia	Farmer	Neosho Township 1870
Leslie	Cooper	1885	Missouri	Custodian local banks	Neosho
Lizzie	Cooper	1890, Aug.	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
Louisa	Cooper	1805	Virginia	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1870

Appendix IV: African American Residents of Neosho: 1865-1900

Name		Birthdate (ca.)	Place of Birth	Occupation	Year Listed in Census
Matilda	Cooper	1857, Dec.	Missouri	Keeping House; Farm labor 1900 census	Neosho Township 1880, Neosho Township 1900
Peter	Cooper	1848	Arkansas	Farmer 1870,1880,1900	Neosho Township 1870, 1880, 1900
Rutherford	Cooper	1877	Not listed in census	Child under age 10	Martling 1880
Walter	Cooper	1879	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Fanny	Cooper (1)	1857	Not listed in census	No Occupation in 1880	Martling 1880
Fanny	Cooper (2)	1872	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Louis	Corlee	1883, April	Missouri	Hotel Hand	Neosho Township 1900
Martha	Corlee	Unknown	Texas	Wash Woman	Neosho Township 1900
Pearl	Corlee	1884, June	Missouri	Servant	Neosho Township 1900
Ed	Coulter	1885	Unknown	Attending school	Neosho 1889-1892
Arther	Cox	1894, July	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Elizabeth	Cox	1862, Mar.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Elmer	Cox	1871, Dec.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Ethel	Cox	1885, Jan.	Missouri	Child under age 10 i	Neosho Township 1900
Flip	Cox	1865, Dec.	Kentucky	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Floyd	Cox	1853, Jan.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Franklin	Cox	1895, July	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
John	Cox	1873, April	Kentucky	Farm Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Mable	Cox	1897, Jan.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Mandy	Cox	1828, Mat.	Kentucky	No Occupation in 1900 census	Neosho Township 1900
Perl	Cox	1898, Sept.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Philip	Cox	1816, May	Kentucky	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Albert	Cox, Jr.	1891, Nov.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Albert	Cox, Sr.	1858, Nov.	Kentucky	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Buelah	Croley	1873	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Green	Croley	1854	Georgia	Laborer	Martling 1880
Charles	Cross	1860	Missouri	Laborer	Martling 1880
Mary	Cross	1864	Texas	At Home	Martling 1880
Frank	Cummins	1854	Missouri	No Occupation in 1870	Neosho Township 1870
Matilda (Tilda)	Cummins	1816	Tennessee	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1870, 1880
Sarah	Cummins	1856	Missouri	Attending school, 1870; At home 1880	Neosho Township 1870, 1880
Stone	Cummins	1864	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1870
James	Cummins, Jr.	1858	Missouri	Attending school, 1870; Farm laborer in 1880	Neosho Township 1870, 1880
James	Cummins, Sr.	1818	Tennessee	Farmer	Neosho Township 1870
Andrew	Dale	1870, Feb.	Missouri	Attending school, 1880	Neosho Township 1870, 1880
Biddy (Beda)	Dale	1845	Kentucky	Keeping House 1880, No occupation listed in 1900	Martling 1880, Neosho Township 1900
Catharine	Dale	1840	Tennessee	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1870, 1880
Charles	Dale	1856	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1870
Edmund	Dale	1871	Missouri	Attending school	Martling 1880
Ella	Dale	1867, May	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Elvira	Dale	1873	Missouri	Attending school	Martling 1880
Florence	Dale	1878	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Granville	Dale	1874	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1880
Harvey	Dale	1867, May	Missouri	Tie Trader	Neosho Township 1900
Isabel	Dale	1879	Missouri	Child under age 10	Martling 1880
Jesse	Dale	1877	Missouri	Child under age 10	Martling 1880

Appendix IV: African American Residents of Neosho: 1865-1900

Name		Birthdate (ca.)	Place of Birth	Occupation	Year Listed in Census
Joann (Joaner)	Dale	1862, Feb.	Texas	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Jonney	Dale	1880, Sept.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Joseph	Dale	1864	Missouri	Attending school, 1870, Works on farm 1880	Neosho Township 1870, 1880
Lewis (Stover)	Dale	1829	Tennessee	Farmer	Neosho Township 1870, 1880
Lizia	Dale	1880, Sept.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Lucretia	Dale	1858	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1870
Mary	Dale	1866	Texas	Attending school	Neosho Township 1880
Matilda	Dale	1854	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1870
Myra	Dale	1866	Missouri	Child under age 10, 1870; attending school 1880	Neosho Township 1870, 1880
Phillip	Dale	1869	Missouri	Attending school	Martling 1880
Robert	Dale	1855	Missouri	No Occupation in 1870	Neosho Township 1870
Sherman	Dale	1878	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
William	Dale	1875	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Eliza	Dale (1)	1847	Missouri	Domestic Servant 1870	Neosho 1870, 1880
James	Dale (1)	1826	Tennessee	Farmer	Martling 1880, Neosho Township 1900
Eliza	Dale (2)	1850	Tennessee	Servant	Neosho Township 1880
James	Dale (2)	1891, Feb.	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
Emma	Daritor	1816, Mar.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Marshall	Day	1855	Tennessee	Farm Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Martha	Day	1862	Tennessee	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Viola	Day	1877, Aug.	Indiana	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Lula	Derricks	1870	Arkansas	Attending school	Neosho 1880
Mary	Derricks	1850	Tennessee	Keeping House	Neosho 1880
Mouron	Derricks	1840	Tennessee	Laborer	Neosho 1880
Henderson	Dixon	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Neosho 1876 possibly
Ceaser (Seazer)	Dodd	1840	Kentucky	Farmer	Martling 1880, 1900
Moses	Dodd	1861	Texas	Works on Farm	Martling 1880
Elion	Dyal	1860	Texas	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1880
Frank	Dyal	1860	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho Township 1880
Harriet	Ebert	1852	Missouri	Domestic Servant	Neosho 1870
Jennie	Elliott	1873	Arkansas	Attending school	Neosho 1880
Peter	Ellis	1862	Arkansas	Laborer	Neosho 1880
Albert	Emmerson	1860	Texas	Laborer	Neosho 1880
Edward	Emmerson	1877	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho 1880
Frank	Emmerson	1873	Arkansas	Attending school	Neosho 1880
George	Emmerson	1873, Dec.	Missouri	Child under age 10 in 1880; Day laborer 1900	Neosho 1880, 1900
Lizzie	Emmerson	1868	Texas	Attending school	Neosho 1880
Lucy	Emmerson	1866	Texas	Attending school 1880; none listed in 1900	Neosho 1880, 1900
Mary	Emmerson	1871	Texas	Attending school	Neosho 1880
Robert	Emmerson	1844	Texas	Carpenter	Neosho 1880
Willie	Emmerson	1864	Texas	At Home	Neosho 1880
Liza (Eliza)	Emmerson (Emerson)	1842	Mississippi	Keeping House 1880: none listed in 1900	Neosho 1880, 1900
Charles	Estes	1865	Texas	Child under age 10 in 1870 census	Neosho Township 1870
Clenton	Estes	1847	Texas	Farm Laborer	Neosho Township 1870
Demps	Estes	1868	Texas	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1870
Lannie	Estes	1869	Texas	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1870
Lene	Estes	1847	Missouri	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1870

Appendix IV: African American Residents of Neosho: 1865-1900

Name		Birthdate (ca.)	Place of Birth	Occupation	Year Listed in Census
Arthur	Fields	1886, Oct.	Missouri	Day laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Effie	Fields	1893, April	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Essie	Fields	1889, Feb.	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
Flora	Fields	1894, Dec.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Maggie	Fields	1869, Aug.	Canada	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Minnie	Fields	1891, July	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
Mary	Finen	1842, Jan.	Tennessee	Servant	Neosho Township 1900
Maggie	Fortner	1885	Unknown	Attending school	Neosho 1889-1892
D.R.P.	Fox	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Neosho 1876 possibly
Emma	Fox	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Neosho 1876 possibly
Albert	Frost	1840, Feb.	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Charles	Frost	1874	Missouri	R.R. Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Christine	Frost	1899, June	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Fannie	Frost	1859	Arkansas	Keeping House	Neosho 1880
Henry	Frost	1855	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Ida	Frost	1877, April	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
John	Frost	1875	Missouri	Laborer R.R.	Neosho Township 1900
Stephen (Stevin)	Frost	1850	Tennessee	School Teacher 1880; Teacher 1900	Neosho 1880, 1900
Jos.	Fulkerson	1841	Virginia	Laborer	Neosho 1880
Lonzo	Fulkerson	1879	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho 1880
Mary	Fulkerson	1848	Missouri	Keeping House	Neosho 1880
Frederick	Gage	1878	Missouri	Child under age 10 in 1880; Day laborer 1900	Martling 1880, Neosho Township 1900
Gerta	Gage	1885. Mar.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Isaac	Gage	1856	Tennessee	Works on Farm, 1880; Day Laborer 1900	Martling 1880, Neosho Township 1900
Lary [sic]	Gage	1891, Aug.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Lewis	Gage	1881, July	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Lottie	Gage	1876	Arkansas	Child under age 10 in 1880 census; unlisted occupation in 1900	Martling 1880, Neosho township 1900
Martha	Gage	1872	Arkansas	Child under age 10	Martling 1880
Mary	Gage	1859	Arkansas	Keeping House	Martling 1880, Neosho Township 1900
Neoma	Gage	1900, Feb.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
William	Gage	1883, Dec.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Benjamin	Gibson	1833	Kentucky	Farmer 1870, Blacksmith 1880, Farmer 1900	Neosho Township 1870; Martling 1880, Neosho Township 1900
Della	Gibson	1878	Missouri	Child under age 10 in 1880; No occupation 1900	Martling 1880, Neosho Township 1900
Eliza	Gibson	1856	Arkansas	Attending school, 1870	Neosho Township 1870
Flora	Gibson	1861	Arkansas	Attending school	Neosho Township 1870
Frances	Gibson	1878, Feb.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Harriett	Gibson	1848	Arkansas	No Occupation Listed in	Neosho Township 1870
Matilda	Gibson	1859	Missouri	No Occupation Listed in	Neosho Township 1870
Easter	Gibson	1810	Tennessee	No Occupation Listed in	Neosho Township 1870
Harry	Gibson (1)	1829	Tennessee	Farmer	Neosho Township 1870
William	Gibson (1)	1858	Arkansas	Attending school, 1870; Farmer 1880	Neosho Township 1870 and Martling 1880
Harry	Gibson (2)	1875	Kansas	Child under age 10	Martling 1880
William	Gibson (2)	Not in 1900 census	Kansas	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Lucy	Gibson, Jr.	1860	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1870
Myra	Gibson, Jr.	1865	Kansas	At home 1880	Neosho Township 1870, 1880

Appendix IV: African American Residents of Neosho: 1865-1900

Name		Birthdate (ca.)	Place of Birth	Occupation	Year Listed in Census
Lucy	Gibson, Sr.	1835	Arkansas	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1870
Myra	Gibson, Sr.	1848	Missouri	Keeping House 1870, No occupation listed in 1900	Neosho 1870, Martling 1880, Neosho Township 1900
Carry	Gillam	1871, Sept.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Eliza	Gillam	1871	Texas	Attending school	Neosho Township 1880
Ellen	Gillam	1865	Texas	Attending school	Neosho Township 1880
Ishie	Gillam	1893, July	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Jennie	Gillam	1873	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1880
Joseph	Gillam	1875	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Julia	Gillam	1869	Kentucky	Attending school	Neosho Township 1880
Maria	Gillam	1850	Kentucky	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1880
Martha	Gillam	1878	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Samrih	Gillam	1898, April	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Thomas	Gillam	1865, Sept.	Texas	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Unnamed Baby	Gillam	1880	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Thomas	Gillam, Jr.	1868	Texas	Attending school 1880; Farmer 1900	Neosho Township 1880, 1900
Thomas	Gillam, Sr.	1830	Kentucky	Farmer	Neosho Township 1880
Adda (Adis)	Givens	1879, Oct.	Missouri	Child under age 10 in 1880; none in 1900	Neosho Township 1880, 1900
Archea	Givens	1889, Aug.	Missouri	Child age 10 in 1900 census; Farm labor	Neosho Township 1900
Cordelia	Givens	1858, Feb.	Texas	No Occupation in 1900 Census	Neosho Township 1880, 1900
Delia	Givens	1894, Nov.	Missouri	Child under age 10 in 1900 census	Neosho Township 1900
Gordan	Givens	1895, Dec.	Missouri	Child under age 10 in 1900 census	Neosho Township 1900
Hannah	Givens	1813	Tennessee	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1880
Janny	Givens	1884, May	Missouri	Farm Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Nathan	Givens	1884, May	Missouri	Farm Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Walter	Givens	1887, May	Missouri	Child over age 10 in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Mamey	Givens	1898, Jan.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Phillip	Givens, III	1893, July	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Phillip	Givens, Jr.	1849, Jan.	Kentucky	Minister 1880, Farmer 1900	Neosho Township 1870, 1880, 1900
Phillip	Givens, Sr.	1808	Kentucky	Minister 1870, Farmer 1880	Neosho Township 1870, 1880
Ella	Gordon	1870	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho 1870
Jackson	Gordon	1845	Georgia	Barber (1870)	Neosho 1870
Mary	Gordon	1848	Tennessee	Keeping House	Neosho 1870
Carrie	Grant	1854	Texas	Works out	Neosho 1880
Elmer	Grant	1874	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho 1880
Eva	Grant	1886, Dec.	Missouri	Attending school, 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Horace	Grant	1870	Missouri	Attending school, 1880	Neosho Township 1880
Isabell	Grant	1875	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Lawrence	Grant	1878, Nov.	Missouri	Child under age 10 1880; Hod Carrier 1900	Neosho 1880, 1900
Lula	Grant	1877	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho 1880
Mandy (Amanda)	Grant	1862	Arkansas	Keeping House 1880; Hotel Cook 1900	Neosho 1880, 1900
Mazie	Grant	1882, May	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
Nelson	Grant	1849	Missouri	Farmer	Neosho Township 1870
Nora	Grant	1884, Nov.	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
Silas	Grant	1845	Tennessee	Laborer	Neosho 1880, 1900

Appendix IV: African American Residents of Neosho: 1865-1900

Name		Birthdate (ca.)	Place of Birth	Occupation	Year Listed in Census
Ulysses	Grant	1872	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1880
Will	Grant	1873	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho 1880
Elizabeth	Graves	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Neosho 1876 possibly
Ella	Graves	1879	S. Carolina	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Emma (Amy)	Graves	1849	Missouri	Keeping House	Neosho 1870 and Neosho Township 1880
Jane	Graves	1873	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1880
Mary	Graves	1867	Missouri	Child under age 10 in 1870; No occupation 1880	Neosho 1870 and Neosho Township 1880
Minnie	Graves	1883, July	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Peter	Graves	1845	Kentucky	Farmer	Neosho 1870 and Neosho Township 1880
Son	Graves	1854	Missouri	Keeping House	Neosho 1880
William	Graves	1873	Missouri	Child under age 10 in 1880; Farmer 1900	Neosho Township 1880, 1900
Cordie	Gray	1878	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho 1880
Mary	Gray	1862	Missouri	Servant	Neosho 1880
Bennie	Grayson	1876	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho 1880
Chas.	Grayson	1858	Maryland	Laborer	Neosho 1880
Lizzie	Grayson	1860	Missouri	No Occupation Listed	Neosho 1880
Ennis	Green	1877	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho 1880
Flora	Green	1870	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho 1880
James	Green	1866	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho 1880
Louisa	Green	1863	Missouri	Servant	Neosho 1880
Lynda	Green	1872	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho 1880
Maudie	Green	1849	Kentucky	Wash Woman	Neosho 1880
Mary	Haas	1855, Dec.	Kentucky	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Sidney	Haas	1848, July	Kentucky	Farm Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Mary	Haines	1814	Georgia	At Home	Neosho Township 1880
Agnes	Halsel	1852	Missouri	Farmer	Neosho Township 1870
Joseph	Halsel	1805	Kentucky	Farmer	Neosho Township 1870
Joshia	Halsel	1847	Missouri	Farmer	Neosho Township 1870
Louisa	Halsel	1805	Tennessee	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1870
Louisa	Halsey	1820	Tennessee	No Occupation in 1880	Martling 1880
Anna	Hamilton	1860	Missouri	Keeping House	Martling 1880
Rissy	Hamilton	1879	Missouri	Child under age 10	Martling 1880
William	Hamilton	1856	Missouri	Minister	Martling 1880
Andy	Handy	1867	Unknown	Unknown	Neosho, ca. 1870s
John	Handy	1867	Unknown	Unknown	Neosho, ca. 1870s
Anne	Harlan	1887, Feb.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Jeb	Harlan	1830, Jan.	Kentucky	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Margaret	Harlan	1832, Jan.	Kentucky	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Susan	Harlan	1888, Sept.	Missouri	Child over age 10 in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Cora	Harlow	1883, June	Missouri	Child over age 10 in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Dan	Harlow	1887, Feb.	Missouri	Farm Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
John	Harlow	1886, April	Missouri	Farm Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
John W.	Harlow	1844	Kentucky	School Teacher, Preacher	Neosho 1882-1890
Lissie	Harlow	1882	Unknown	Attending school, 1890	Neosho 1889-1892
Mary	Harlow	1855, May	Kentucky	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
James F. (Doc)	Harlow	1875		School Teacher and Preacher	Neosho ca. 1882-1890
Madison	Hartgrove	1835	Tennessee	Farmer	Neosho Township 1870, 1880
Lizzie	Hartsfield	1862	Texas	At Home	Neosho Township 1880
Cora	Hatcher	1867	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho 1870
Fannie	Hatcher	1865	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho 1870
Granville	Hatcher	1838	Tennessee	No Occupation in 1870	Neosho 1870

Appendix IV: African American Residents of Neosho: 1865-1900

Name		Birthdate (ca.)	Place of Birth	Occupation	Year Listed in Census
John	Hatcher	1861	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho 1870
Laura	Hatcher	1863	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho 1870
Luana	Hatcher	1862	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho 1870
Mahala	Hatcher	1841	Missouri	No Occupation in 1870	Neosho 1870
Sherman	Hatcher	1869	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho 1870
Johanna	Hatchie	1860	Texas	Keeping House	Martling 1880
John	Hatchie	1858	Missouri	Works in Plow Factory	Martling 1880
Annie	Haten	1878, Sept.	Texas	Servant	Neosho Township 1900
Horace	Haulsey	1868	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho 1880
Alice	Haywood	1870	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1880
Robert	Haywood	1828	Mississippi	Laborer	Neosho Township 1880
Elizabeth	Haywood (Hawood)	1845	Virginia	Keeping House 1880; No occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1880, 1900
Eadath	Healy	1893, May	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
Elea	Healy	1887, Feb.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Fraka	Healy	1891, Mar.	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
Oda	Healy	1868	Missouri	At Home and Attending School in 1880, No occupation in 1900	Martling 1880, Neosho Township 1900
Oner	Healy	1889, April	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
Tom	Helper	1873	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho 1880
Charley	Henderson	1899, Aug.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Cloid	Henderson	1890, Jan.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
David	Henderson	1825, Aug.	Kentucky	No Occupation	Neosho Township 1900
Elizie	Henderson	1873, Feb.	Kentucky	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Ernest	Henderson	1893, June	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Frank	Henderson	1892, Oct.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Huey	Henderson	1897, Oct.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Lucindy	Henderson	1840, Jan.	Kentucky	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Mattie	Henderson	1875, Jan.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Samul	Henderson	1878, May	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Thomas	Henderson	1870, Mar.	Kentucky	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Ann	Heyden	1850	Georgia	Keeping House 1880, Servant per 1900 census	Neosho Township 1880, Neosho Township 1900
Emma	Heyden	1865	Missouri	Servant	Neosho 1880
Hulett	Heyden	1873	Arkansas	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Manuel	Heyden	1864	Arkansas	Servant	Neosho 1880
Mary	Heyden	1870	Not listed	Attending school	Neosho Township 1880
Euen	Hiebermann	1865, June	Kentucky	Farm Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Ann	Higbee	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Neosho 1876 possibly
Amanda	Hill	1879	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Angeline	Hill	1840	Tennessee	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1870, 1880
George	Hill	1868	Kansas	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1870, 1880
Livia	Hill	1869	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1870
Nettie	Hill	1871	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Sada	Hill	1866	Kansas	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1870, 1880
Thadeus	Hill	1878	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Wadus	Hill	1835	S. Carolina	Farmer	Neosho Township 1870, 1880
Jennie	Horn	1871	Texas	Attending school	Neosho Township 1880
Joseph	Horn	1827	Georgia	Laborer	Neosho Township 1880
Nancy	Horn	1837	Mississippi	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1880
Samuel	Horn	1858	Texas	Laborer	Neosho Township 1880
Charley	Horne	1889, Sept.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900

Appendix IV: African American Residents of Neosho: 1865-1900

Name		Birthdate (ca.)	Place of Birth	Occupation	Year Listed in Census
Sandy	Horner	1864, Sept.	Texas	Day Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Joanna	Houston	1863, Feb.	Texas	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Samuel	Houston	1857, April	Texas	1880 Brick molder, 1900 Brick layer	Neosho 1880, Neosho Township 1900
Amanda	Illegible (family 361)	1864	Texas	No Occupation in 1880	Martling 1880
Ann	Illegible (family 361)	1846	Arkansas	Keeping House	Martling 1880
Anne	Illegible (family 361)	1874	Missouri	Child under age 10	Martling 1880
Benjamin	Illegible (family 361)	1862	Texas	Works on Farm	Martling 1880
Edward	Illegible (family 361)	1866	Texas	No Occupation in 1880	Martling 1880
Elma	Illegible (family 361)	1878	Missouri	Child under age 10	Martling 1880
Illegible	Illegible (family 361)	1836	Not listed in census	unknown in 1880 Census	Martling 1880
Jane	Illegible (family 361)	1869	Missouri	No Occupation in 1880	Martling 1880
John	Illegible (family 361)	1880	Missouri	Child under age 10	Martling 1880
Mary	Illegible (family 361)	1872	Missouri	Child under age 10	Martling 1880
Maude	Illegible (family 361)	1875	Missouri	Child under age 10	Martling 1880
Bass	Jackson	1851	Missouri	Teamster	Neosho Township 1900
Corinne	Jackson	1898, July	Illinois	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Daniel	Jackson	1858	Not listed in census	Ill with no Occupation	Neosho Township 1880
Elmer	Jackson	1894, Oct.	Illinois	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
Emiline	Jackson	1849, July	Arkansas	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Herbert	Jackson	1887, Oct.	Illinois	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
Sarah	Jackson	1864, Feb.	Illinois	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Stella	Jackson	1886, April	Illinois	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
Willis	Jackson	1862, Jan.	Illinois	Contractor and Builder	Neosho Township 1900
William	Jackson (1)	1844	Tennessee	Farm Laborer	Neosho Township 1870
William	Jackson (2)	1889, Oct.	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
Agnes	Jefferson	1857, Nov.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Calvin	Jefferson	1868, Apr.	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho 1880
Louis	Jefferson	1846, July	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Lucy	Jewin	1815	S. Carolina	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1880
Ada	Johnson	1869	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho 1870
Amanda	Johnson	1865	Texas	Child under age 10	Neosho 1870
Andrew	Johnson	1890, July	Tennessee	Attending school,	Neosho Township 1900
Andy	Johnson	1860	Texas	Child under age 10	Neosho 1870
Biddie	Johnson	1888, Oct.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Eamel	Johnson	1885, Dec.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Etta	Johnson	1881, Nov.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Frank	Johnson	1858	Tennessee	No Occupation in 1870	Neosho 1870
G. H.	Johnson	1856, July	Tennessee	Minister of the Gospel	Neosho Township 1900
James	Johnson	1885, Dec.	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Lavina (Vina)	Johnson	1867, July	Missouri	Child under age 10 in 1870 census, school in 1880; No occupation 1900	Neosho Township 1870, 1880, 1900
Louisa (Luveni)	Johnson	1875, Mar.	Missouri	Child under age 10 in 1880; No occupation 1900	Neosho Township 1880, 1900

Appendix IV: African American Residents of Neosho: 1865-1900

Name		Birthdate (ca.)	Place of Birth	Occupation	Year Listed in Census
Lucy	Johnson	1835	Tennessee	Keeping House	Neosho 1870
Maggie	Johnson	1878, Oct.	Missouri	Child under age 10 in 1880 census; no occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1880, 1900
Manuel	Johnson	1865, April	Missouri	Servant	Neosho Township 1900
Martha	Johnson	1855	Tennessee	Domestic Servant	Neosho 1870
Mary	Johnson	1859, Feb.	Texas	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1870, 1880, 1900
Mertal	Johnson	1883, Oct.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Otto	Johnson	1896, Jan.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Rachel	Johnson	1865, Mar.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Ray	Johnson	1881, Sept.	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Savana	Johnson	1881, Nov.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Susan	Johnson	1857	Tennessee	Domestic Servant	Neosho 1870
William	Johnson	1872, Jan.	Missouri	Attending school, 1880; Farm Laborer in 1900	Neosho Township 1880, 1900
John N.	Johnson	1838, March	Missouri	Farmer	Neosho Township 1870, 1880, 1900
John R.	Johnson	1866, May	Texas	Child under age 10 in 1870, school in 1880; Day Laborer in 1900	Neosho Township 1870, 1880, 1900
Joicy	Jones	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Neosho 1876 possibly
Newton	Jones	1885	Unknown	Attending school	Neosho 1889-1892
Silvia	Kerby	1800	Alabama	No Occupation in 1880	Neosho Township 1880
Fleta	Kimbrough	1892, May	Missouri	Attending school, Per 1900 census	Neosho Township 1900
Guy	Kimbrough	1894, Aug.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
John	Kimbrough	1844	Missouri	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Lavina	Kimbrough	Unknown	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Mabel	Kimbrough	1897, Jan.	Missouri	Child under age 10, 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Rene	Kimbrough	1885, Aug.	Missouri	Attending school, 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Savannah	Kimbrough	1899, Oct.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Walter	Kimbrough	1884, Aug.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Millie	Kincade	1862	Arkansas	Keeping House	Martling 1880
Orville	Kincade	1879	Missouri	Child under age 10	Martling 1880
Wesley	Kincade	1858	Arkansas	Laborer	Martling 1880
Caroline	Kincaid	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Neosho 1876 possibly
Lavinia	Kincaid	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Neosho 1876 possibly
Anderson	King	1843	Texas	Laborer	Neosho 1880
Bertie	King	1880, May	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Eliza	King	1843	Arkansas	Keeping House	Neosho 1880
Ethel	King	1894, Aug.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Helen	King	1899, Aug.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Jim	King	1870	Missouri	Attending school, 1880	Neosho 1880
Luther	King	1893, June	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Oscar	King	1898, Feb.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
John	King	1873	Missouri	Attending school, 1880	Neosho 1880
Lena	King (Scott)	1879, Mar.	Missouri	Child under age 10, 1880; No Occupation 1900	Martling 1880, Neosho Township 1900
Jennie	Kinkaid	1854	Arkansas	Domestic Servant	Neosho Township 1870
Elizabeth	Lane	1830	Kentucky	Wash Woman	Neosho 1880
Amos	Langston	1878	Arkansas	Child under age 10	Neosho 1880
Jane	Langston	1857	Arkansas	Keeping House	Neosho 1880
Bell	Leunicks	1863	Missouri	Works out	Neosho 1880
Docia	Leunicks	1868	Arkansas	Attending school	Neosho 1880
Fusia	Leunicks	1880	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho 1880
Ann	Lewis	1855	Tennessee	Keeping House	Neosho 1880

Appendix IV: African American Residents of Neosho: 1865-1900

Name		Birthdate (ca.)	Place of Birth	Occupation	Year Listed in Census
Barton	Lewis	1879	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho 1880
Richard	Lewis	1855	Missouri	Painter	Neosho 1880
Arthur	Lindsey (Lincy)	1879	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1891-1892, 1900
Scot	Lucretia	Unknown	Not listed in 1880 census	No Occupation	Neosho Township 1880
William	Lyons	1883, Oct.	Missouri	Farm Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
George	Macklain	1860, Dec.	Arkansas	Ice Loader	Neosho Township 1900
Minnie	Macklain	1880, Nov.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900 Census	Neosho Township 1900
George	Marion	1860, Jan.	Missouri	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Hariete	Marion	1865, Feb.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
James	Marion	1887, May	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Lula	Marion	1885, Feb.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
William	Marion	1858, May	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Benjamin	Marshal	1844	Missouri	Works in Livery stable	Neosho 1870
Emma	Marshall	1885	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
Erman	Marshall	1900, Jan.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Florence	Marshall	1878, Aug.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Henry	Marshall	1898, July	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Ina	Marshall	1887, Mar.	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
John	Marshall	1849	Tennessee	Plow Grinder	Neosho Township 1900
Lou	Marshall	Unknown	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Madison	Marshall	1862	Missouri	Boot black	Neosho 1880
Rosa	Marshall	1888	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
Roy	Marshall	1884, Jan.	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
Will	Marshall	Unknown	Kentucky	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Edwin	Martin	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Neosho area 1876
Blanche	Massy	1900, Jan.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Clara	Massy	1896, Dec.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Lorn	Massy	1894, Feb.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Millie	Massy	1897, Dec.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Pearl	Massy	1890, Sept.	Missouri	Attending school, 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Rachael	Massy	1865	Arkansas	Wash Woman	Neosho Township 1900
William	Massy	1835, Feb.	Virginia	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Peevey	Mattie	1867	Missouri	No Occupation in 1880	Neosho Township 1880
Priscilla	McClain	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Neosho 1876 possibly
John	McClanahan	1872	Missouri	Attending school, 1880, Day Labor in 1900	Martling 1880, Neosho Township 1900
Lizzie	McClanahan	1874	Missouri	Attending school, 1880	Martling 1880
Luae	McClanahan	1871, Dec.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Phillis	McClanahan	1843	Missouri	Keeping House	Martling 1880
Lewis (Louis)	McClanahan (McClenahan)	1876	Missouri	Child under age 10 in 1880; Day laborer 1900	Martling 1880, Neosho 1900
Anderson	McClausland	1867	Texas	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1870
Clastine	McClausland	1817	N. Carolina	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1870
Joe	McClausland	1842	Arkansas	Farm laborer	Neosho Township 1870
Millie	McClausland	1862	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1870
Nancy	McClausland	1868	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1870
Phillis	McClausland	1840	Tennessee	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1870
Myrtle	McClenahan (McClanahan)	1880, Jan.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Harriet	McCone	1854	Arkansas	Domestic Servant	Neosho Township 1870
Flora	McDougall	1871	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Frances	McDougall	1853	Tennessee	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1880
Harry	McDougall	1840	Missouri	None listed in 1880	Neosho Township 1880
James	McDougall	1873	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880

Appendix IV: African American Residents of Neosho: 1865-1900

Name		Birthdate (ca.)	Place of Birth	Occupation	Year Listed in Census
Katie	McDougall	1877	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Maria	McDougall	1875	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Mary	McDougall	1865	Missouri	No Occupation in 1880	Neosho Township 1880
Sarah	McDougall	1879	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Tanny	McDudle	Unknown	Unknown	Farmer	Neosho 1876 possibly
Anna	Moore	1885	Unknown	Attending school	Neosho 1889-1892
Beulah	Moore	1885	Unknown	Attending school	Neosho 1889-1892
Cecil	Moore	1884	Unknown	Attending school	Neosho 1889-1892
Joseph	Morgan	1863	Texas	Servant	Neosho 1880
Thomas	Moseley	1863	Tennessee	Laborer	Neosho 1880
Dora	Moss	1872, Sept.	Missouri	Hotel Cook	Neosho Township 1900
Lear	Moss	1892, July	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
Thomas	Moss	1866	Arkansas	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Robert	Murray	1843	Missouri	Works on Farm	Neosho Township 1880
Henry	Owens	1855, Jan	Kentucky	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Melven	Owens	1884, July	Indiana	Farm Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Savana	Owens	1863, Mar	Kentucky	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
John	Peevey	1880	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Mary	Peevey	1844	Tennessee	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1880
Thomas	Peevey	1856	Missouri	Farmer	Neosho Township 1880
Annie	Perry	1875, June	Alabama	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
J. W.	Perry	1870, Nov.	Tennessee	Bricklayer	Neosho Township 1900
Martha	Perry	1857	Texas	Servant	Neosho 1880
Matt	Perry	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Neosho, ca. 1870s
Samuel	Perry	1817	Tennessee	Farmer	Benton (Newton Co.) 1870
Alexander	Petit	1849	Tennessee	Farm Laborer	Neosho 1870
Isaac	Petit	1856	Texas	Farm Laborer	Neosho 1870
Maria	Petit	1810	Missouri	Keeping House	Neosho 1870
Odeal	Petit	1858	Texas	Attending school 1870	Neosho 1870
Russel	Petit	1820	Virginia	Laborer	Neosho 1870
Alexander	Pettis	1850	Tennessee	Farmer	Neosho Township 1870
Arnie	Phillips	1890, April	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
Dottie	Phillips	1881, Oct.	Missouri	Housekeeper	Neosho Township 1900
Fanny	Phillips	1876	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Jack	Phillips	1884, Mar.	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
John	Phillips	1854, Mar.	Missouri	Farmer 1880; Stone mason 1900	Neosho Township 1880, 1900
Mary	Phillips	1858	Missouri	Keeping House 1880; No occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1880, 1900
Willie (William)	Phillips	1879	Missouri	Child under age 10, 1880; Farm laborer in 1900	Neosho Township 1880, 1900
Emma	Pitcher	1867, May	Iowa	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Leroy	Pitcher	1897, May	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Sam'l	Pitcher	1865, Mar.	Kansas	Minister of the gospel	Neosho Township 1900
Amelia	Pits	1870, Jan.	Texas	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
William	Pits	1874, Dec.	Alabama	Laborer R.R.	Neosho Township 1900
Charles	Powell	1890, Feb.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Cynthia	Powell	1859	Arkansas	Keeping House 1880; No occupation in 1900	Martling 1880, 1900
Maggie	Powell	1878	Arkansas	Child under age 10 in 1880, No occupation 1900	Martling 1880; 1900
Mary	Powell	1885, April	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
George	Powell, Jr.	1881, Nov.	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
George	Powell, Sr.	1856	Arkansas	Laborer	Martling 1880, 1900
Berry	Railiff	Unknown	Arkansas	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Laura	Railiff	1872, Feb.	Arkansas	Dress Maker	Neosho Township 1900

Appendix IV: African American Residents of Neosho: 1865-1900

Name		Birthdate (ca.)	Place of Birth	Occupation	Year Listed in Census
Preston	Railiff	1890, Dec.	Missouri	Attending school, 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Jery	Randell	1841, Jan.	Tennessee	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Martha	Randell	1850, Jan.	Kentucky	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Anna Bell	Randolph	1872	Missouri	Attending school, 1880	Neosho Township 1880
Eliza	Randolph	1845	Tennessee	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1880
George	Randolph	1865	Missouri	Works on Farm and Attends School	Neosho Township 1880
Jerry	Randolph	1828	Tennessee	Farmer	Neosho Township 1880
Thomas	Randolph	1867	Missouri	Unknown	Neosho, ca. 1870s
Hustin	Rearley	1861, May	Indian Territory	Day Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Jessey	Rearley	1885, Mar.	Indian Territory	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Luree	Rearley	1895, Feb.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Molley	Rearley	1853, Jan.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Albert	Rich	1875, Nov.	Arkansas	Tie Loader	Neosho Township 1900
Arch	Rich	1875, May	Arkansas	Tie Loader	Neosho Township 1900
Betty	Rich	Unknown	Arkansas	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Edwin	Rich	1880, Nov.	Arkansas	Cook	Neosho Township 1900
Ellen	Rich	1883, Nov.	Arkansas	Washer & Ironer	Neosho Township 1900
George	Rich	1873, Jan.	Arkansas	Tie Loader	Neosho Township 1900
James	Rich	1886, Sept.	Arkansas	Attending school, 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Laura	Rich	1891	Arkansas	Attending school, 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Lena	Rich	1885, Sept.	Arkansas	Washer & Ironer	Neosho Township 1900
Lillie	Rich	1893, May	Arkansas	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
Lizzie	Rich	1877, Aug.	Arkansas	Cook	Neosho Township 1900
Squire	Rich	Unknown	Arkansas	Blacksmith	Neosho Township 1900
Virgil	Rich	1880, Nov.	Arkansas	Porter	Neosho Township 1900
Ellen	Richardson	1858	Missouri	Domestic Servant	Neosho 1870
Jack	Richardson	1870	Missouri	Attending school, 1880	Neosho 1880
Mary	Richardson	1866	Texas	Attending school, 1880	Neosho 1880
Sam	Richardson	1868	Arkansas	Attending school, 1880	Neosho 1880
William	Richardson	1813	Tennessee	Laborer	Neosho 1880
Winnie	Richardson	1836	Tennessee	Keeping House	Neosho 1880
Isom	Ritchey	Unknown	Unknown	Farmer	Neosho 1876 possibly
Casiroh	Roberts	1841	Georgia	Keeping House	Neosho 1880
Kizzian	Roberts	Unknown	Georgia	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Richard	Roberts	1869	Texas	Attending school, 1880	Neosho 1880
Sandra	Roberts	1870	Arkansas	Attending school, 1880	Neosho 1880
Ula	Roberts	1872	Arkansas	Attending school, 1880	Neosho 1880
Wiley	Roberts	1873	Missouri	Attending school, 1880	Neosho 1880
Willie Ann	Roberts	1876	Arkansas	Child under age 10	Neosho 1880
Mary	Roshell	1866	Texas	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1870
Chas.	Scott	1882, Feb.	Missouri	Day Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Della	Scott	1880	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho 1880
Lavinia	Scott	1860	Missouri	No Occupation in 1870	Neosho Township 1870
Lewis	Scott	1862	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1870
Louisa	Scott	1865, April	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Mary	Scott	1840	Tennessee	No Occupation in 1870	Neosho Township 1870
Robert	Scott	1858	Missouri	Laborer	Martling 1880
Mollie (Molley)	Scott (Scot)	1861	Texas	Keeping House, No occupation listed in 1900	Martling 1880, Neosho Township 1900
Besie	Scott (Scot)	1895, Jan.	Missouri	Child under age 10 in 1900 census	Neosho Township 1900
Duglas	Scott (Scot)	1890, Aug.	Missouri	Child under age 10, 1900	Neosho Township 1900
James	Scott, Jr. (Scot)	1885, Feb.	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900

Appendix IV: African American Residents of Neosho: 1865-1900

Name		Birthdate (ca.)	Place of Birth	Occupation	Year Listed in Census
James	Scott, Sr. (Scot)	1855	North Carolina	Laborer	Martling 1880, Neosho Township 1900
Alice	Scrimpsy	1860	Missouri	No Occupation in 1870 Census	Neosho Township 1870
Harriet	Scrimpsy	1870, Jan.	Missouri	Child under age 10 in 1870 census	Neosho Township 1870
Jordan	Scrimpsy	1830	Indian Territory, OK	Farmer	Neosho Township 1870
Parale	Scrimpsy	1849	Missouri	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1870
Mary	Severs	1840	Tennessee	Wash Woman 1870, Keeping House 1880	Neosho Township 1870 and Martling 1880
James	Sevier	1854	Tennessee	Farm Laborer	Neosho Township 1880
Elias	Sewell	1845	Tennessee	Laborer	Neosho Township 1880
Harriet	Sewell	1858	Missouri	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1880
Harriet	Sewell	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Neosho 1876 possibly
Henry	Sewell	1872	Missouri	Attending school, 1880	Neosho Township 1880
Hillard	Sewell	1874	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Oliie	Sewell	1879	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Nelia	Siderer	Unknown	Missouri	House Work	Neosho Township 1900
Roy	Signer	1884	Unknown	Attending school	Neosho 1889-1892
William	Signer	1883	Unknown	Attending school	Neosho 1889-1892
Creasy	Slater	1840, Mar.	Tennessee	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Johanna	Smart	1877	Arkansas	Child under age 10	Neosho 1880
Phielel	Smart	1862	Arkansas	Works out	Neosho 1880
Steven	Smeed	1816, June	Georgia	Porter Hotel	Neosho Township 1900
Ada	Smith	1876, Feb.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Aretti	Smith	1897, Jan.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Arthur	Smith	1877	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Cesro	Smith	1862, April	Texas	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Della	Smith	1877, June	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
George	Smith	1873	Unknown	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Janey	Smith	1886, Feb.	Missouri	Child over age 10 in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Lafayette (Tayfatt)	Smith	1874, May	Missouri	Child under age 10 1880; Farm Laborer 1900	Neosho Township 1880, 1900
Lillie	Smith	1882, Oct.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Lucy	Smith	1840	Virginia	Keeping House 1880; Washer and Ironer 1900	Neosho 1880, 1900
Mary	Smith	1862, May	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Mary (Mattie)	Smith	1857	South Carolina	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1880, 1900
Rufus	Smith	1880	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Salvestor	Smith	1884, Mar.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Weadon	Smith	1858, June	Kentucky	Servant/ farm labor	Neosho Township 1900
William	Smith	1851	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho 1880
William	Smith	1851	Missouri	Day Laborer	Neosho 1880
Blancy	Smith	1890, June	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Molley	Smith	1893, Nov.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Olla	Smith	1893, Nov.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
James	Smith (1)	1874, Jan.	Virginia	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
James	Smith (2)	1888, Jan.	Missouri	Attending school, 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Harry (Henry)	Smith Sr.	1842	Mississippi	Farm Laborer	Neosho Township 1870, 1880, 1900
Henry	Smith, Jr.	1886, May	Missouri	Farm Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Rachel	Sparkman	1865	Arkansas	No Occupation in 1880	Neosho 1880
Dexter	Spates	1890, Sept.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Fred	Spates	1893, Aug.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900

Appendix IV: African American Residents of Neosho: 1865-1900

Name		Birthdate (ca.)	Place of Birth	Occupation	Year Listed in Census
Edna	Spinney (Spen)	1858	Virginia	No Occupation in 1880 Washer and Ironer 1900	Neosho 1880, 1900
George	Steward	1853	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho 1880
Lavenia	Steward (Stewart)	1849	Arkansas	Keeping House 1880; No occupation listed 1900	Neosho 1880, 1900
Annie	Stone	1840, Mar.	Arkansas	No Occupation in 1880	Neosho Township 1900
Ben	Stone	1877, Mar.	Texas	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Burrel	Stone	1830	Tennessee	Farm Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Charley	Stone	1887, Mar.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Ella	Stone	1879, Jan.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900 Census	Neosho Township 1900
Emma	Stone	1861	Utah Ter.	Works out	Neosho 1880
John	Stone	1880, Jan.	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Walter	Stone	1884, May	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
William	Stone	1878	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho 1880
Allan	Strickland	1857	Georgia	Laborer	Martling 1880
Mary	Strickland	1855	Tennessee	Keeping House	Martling 1880
Marion	Sutton	1857	Alabama	Servant	Neosho 1880
Albert	Talbert	1859, Jan.	Missouri	Minister of the Gospel	Neosho Township 1900
Dakota	Talbert	1898, May	Kansas	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Millie	Talbert	1875, July	Tennessee	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Hester	Taylor	1862	MIssouri	Works out	Neosho 1880
Carry	Terry	1890, Oct.	Missouri	Attending school, 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Edward	Terry	1862, Jan.	Kentucky	Day Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Ira	Terry	1897, Jan.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Lora	Terry	1894, Feb.	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1900
Lyra	Terry	1897, Jan.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Mattie	Terry	1869, Nov.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Bertha	Thomas	1877	Missouri	Child under age 10	Martling 1880
Cela	Thomas	1874	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Charles	Thomas	1848	Kentucky	Farmer	Neosho Township 1880
David	Thomas	1824	Alabama	Farmer	Martling 1880
Dee	Thomas	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Neosho
Dora	Thomas	1872	Missouri	Attending school	Martling 1880
Ellen	Thomas	1850	Mississippi	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1880
Elma	Thomas	1872	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1880
Hattie	Thomas	1864	Arkansas	Attending school	Martling 1880
Josephine	Thomas	1872	Missouri	Attending school	Martling 1880
Lizzie	Thomas	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Neosho 1895
Luther	Thomas	1875	Missouri	Child under age 10	Martling 1880
Malachi	Thomas	1877	Missouri	Child under age 10	Martling 1880
Mary	Thomas	1869	Missouri	Attending school, 1880	Neosho Township 1880
Mary	Thomas	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Neosho 1876 possibly
Minnie	Thomas	1870	Missouri	Attending school, 1880	Martling 1880
Sarah	Thomas	1844	Alabama	Keeping House	Martling 1880
Susan	Thomas	1849	Tennessee	Keeping House	Martling 1880
Unnamed Baby	Thomas	1880	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Walter	Thomas	1871	Missouri	Attending school, 1880; Farmer 1900	Neosho Township 1880, 1900
Zumin	Thomas	1879	Missouri	Child under age 10	Martling 1880
James	Thomas (1)	1863	Missouri	Works on Farm	Martling 1880
James	Thomas (2)	1879	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Amelia	(Thomas) Richardson	1866	Texas	Attending school, 1880	Martling 1880
Kitty	Tinnan	1877	Arkansas	Child under age 10	Martling 1880
Lucinda	Tinnan	1856	Missouri	Keeping House	Martling 1880

Appendix IV: African American Residents of Neosho: 1865-1900

Name		Birthdate (ca.)	Place of Birth	Occupation	Year Listed in Census
Jane	Tolliferro	1857	Arkansas	Servant	Neosho 1880
Celia	Tomas	1898, Jan.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Cora	Tomas	1892, July	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Moley	Tomas	1874, Nov.	Kentucky	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Srmus	Tomas	1895, Mar.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Walter	Tomas	1870, Dec.	Missouri	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Ellen	Turner	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Neosho 1876 possibly
Harry	Vaughn	1828	Tennessee	Laborer	Neosho Township 1880
Calvin	Walden	1863, Jan.	Kentucky	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Lillie	Walden	1881, July	Kansas	No occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Allen	Waldon	1865, Mar.	Kentucky	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Fred	Waldon	1896, Mar.	Missouri	Child under age	Neosho Township 1900
Hally	Waldon	1893, Aug.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Juley	Waldon	1868, Feb.	Texas	No occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Milly	Waldon	1888, Oct.	Missouri	Child over age 11 in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Armita	Walker	1887, Jan.	Missouri	Farm Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Charlie	Walker	1840, Jan.	Missouri	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Hew	Walker	1884,Dec.	Missouri	Farm Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
John	Walker	1881, Dec.	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Julie	Walker	1855, Jan.	Texas	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Mary	Walker	1862, May	Missouri	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Perl	Walker	1882, Dec.	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Robrt	Walker	1864, Oct.	Missouri	Day Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Charles	Wallace	1887, Mar.	Missouri	Attending school, 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Emma	Wallace	1866, Oct.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Helen	Wallace	1889, Jan.	Missouri	Attending school, 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Joe	Wallace	1864	Missouri	Works in Stable	Neosho 1880
Joeseph [sic]	Wallace	1864	Arkansas	Works in Livery Stable	Neosho 1880
John	Wallace	1868	Missouri	Servant	Neosho 1880
Unnamed Baby	Wallace	1899, Nov.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Andrew	Wallis	1875	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Catherine	Wallis	1872	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Chloe	Wallis	1827	Tennessee	At Home	Neosho Township 1880
Eli	Wallis	1830	Tennessee	Farmer	Neosho Township 1880
Jack	Wallis	1826	Tennessee	Farmer	Neosho Township 1880
Leonidas	Wallis	1879	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Margaret	Wallis	1842	Tennessee	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1880
Mary	Wallis	1869	Missouri	At Home	Neosho Township 1880
Samuel	Wallis	1876	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Sarah	Wallis	1866	Kansas	At Home	Neosho Township 1880
Margaret	Wallis	1843	Arkansas	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1880
William	Wallis (Wallace)	1865, Dec.	Missouri	Laborer (Brickyard)1880; laborer 1900	Neosho Township 1880, 1900
Andrew (Andy)	Watkins	1842	Virginia	Farm Laborer, Laborer; farm laborer 1900	Neosho 1880, 1900
Mariah	Watkins	1824	North Carolina	Midwife; No occupation listed in 1900 census	Neosho 1880, 1900
Bula	Web	1874, Mar.	Missouri	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Cephus	Web	1884, July	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
David	Web	1898, May	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Elmer	Web	1899, Nov.	Kentucky	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Ester	Web	1895, Jan.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Fred	Web	1882, Feb.	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Granval	Web	1897, July	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900

Appendix IV: African American Residents of Neosho: 1865-1900

Name		Birthdate (ca.)	Place of Birth	Occupation	Year Listed in Census
Hew	Web	1885, Jan.	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Jessey	Web	1893, Jan.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
John	Web	1858, Jan.	Kentucky	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Juley	Web	1883, Jan.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Lillie	Web	1894, Nov.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Lucy	Web	1845, Jan.	N. Carolina	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Molley	Web	1878, Jan.	Kentucky	No occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Thomas	Web	1891, Mar.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Willie	Web	1892, Sept.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Amanda	Webb	1861	Missouri	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1880
Carroll	Webb	1819	Tennessee	Farmer	Neosho Township 1880
Douglas	Webb	1876	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho 1880
Elijah	Webb	1876	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Flora	Webb	1862	Missouri	Servant	Neosho 1880
General Grant	Webb	1876	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
George	Webb	1865	Texas	Works on Farm and attending school 1880, Farmer,1900	Neosho Township 1880, 1900
Granville	Webb	1853	Tennessee	Farm Laborer	Neosho Township 1870, 1880
Harriet	Webb	1850	Tennessee	No Occupation	Neosho Township 1870
Harrison	Webb	1864	Texas	Child under age 10, 1870; Works on Farm & attending school, 1880	Neosho Township 1870, 1880
Hayes	Webb	1877	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Jesse	Webb	1862	Arkansas	Works on Farm and attending school, 1880	Neosho Township 1880
John	Webb	1852	Tennessee	Farmer	Neosho Township 1870 and Martling 1880
Lucy	Webb	1844.	Mississippi	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1880
Mary	Webb	1866	Texas	Attending school	Neosho Township 1880
Ulyssus	Webb	1873	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1880
Unnamed Baby	Webb	1880	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1880
Julia	Webb (1)	1825	Tennessee	Keeping House	Neosho Township 1870, 1880
William	Webb (1)	1868	Texas	Works on farm and attends school, 1880; farmer, 1900.	Neosho Township 1870, 1880, 1900
Julia	Webb (2)	1868	Texas	Attending school	Neosho Township 1880
William	Webb (2)	1870	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho Township 1880
Daniel	Webster	Unknown	Unknown	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Vivian	Webster	Unknown	Unknown	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Perl	West	1870	Missouri	Attending school	Neosho 1880
Arther	Whealer	1882, Mar.	Missouri	Day Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Emaline	Whealer	1888, May	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Helen	Whealer	1895, June	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Lew	Whealer	1880, Mar.	Missouri	Day Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Lizie	Whealer	1888, May	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Samul	Whealer	1885, April	Missouri	Day Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Viney	Whealer	1864, Sept.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Ada	Wheeler	1868	Missouri	Attending school	Martling 1880
Sam	Wheeler	1850	Missouri	Laborer	Martling 1880
Unnamed	Wheeler	1862	Missouri	Keeping House	Martling 1880
Della	White	1879	Missouri	not listed	Neosho 1910
Aaron	Williams	1851	Mississippi	Blacksmith	Neosho 1870,1880, 1900

Appendix IV: African American Residents of Neosho: 1865-1900

Name		Birthdate (ca.)	Place of Birth	Occupation	Year Listed in Census
Dug	Williams	1877, Nov.	Missouri	Teamster	Neosho Township 1900
Inez	Williams	1897, Sept.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Legul	Williams	1853, Mar.	Georgia	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Mabel	Williams	1885, Aug.	Missouri	Attending school, 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Mary	Williams	1854	North Carolina	Keeping House, 1880; no occupation listed in 1900	Neosho 1880, 1900
Molley	Williams	1868, Dec.	Kansas	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Myer	Williams	1844, May	Kentucky	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Rosa	Williams	1881, Jan.	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Major	Willis	1833, July	Tennessee	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Alace	Wilson	1860, Jan.	Missouri	Wash Woman	Neosho Township 1900
Leonard	Wilson	1877, Oct.	Tennessee	Ice Loader	Neosho Township 1900
Lou	Wilson	Unknown	Tennessee	Wash Woman	Neosho Township 1900
Mela	Wilson	1880, April	Tennessee	Housekeeper	Neosho Township 1900
Sarah	Wilson	1857	Missouri	Servant	Neosho 1880
Tlasie	Wilson	1887, Jan.	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Arch	Wilson (1)	1879, Feb.	Missouri	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
Arch	Wilson (2)	1882, May	Missouri	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Catherine	Woldredge	1856, Feb.	Kentucky	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Edward	Woldredge	1877, Sept.	Kentucky	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Effa	Woldredge	1884, Feb.	Kentucky	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Elizie	Woldredge	1872, Feb.	Kentucky	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Henry	Woldredge	1851, Jan.	Kentucky	Farmer	Neosho Township 1900
Jessey	Woldredge	1891, Dec.	Kentucky	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Lena	Woldredge	1886, Mar.	Kentucky	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Lessie	Woldredge	1881, Oct.	Kentucky	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Lucie	Woldredge	1887, April	Kentucky	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Mable	Woldredge	1894, Mar.	Kentucky	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Jane	Woods	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Neosho 1876 possibly
Abbie	Worley	1859, Aug.	Missouri	Clothes Washer	Neosho Township 1900
Charles	Worley	1885, April	Kansas	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Clifford	Worley	1894, April	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Floyd	Worley	1898, Feb.	Missouri	Child under age 10	Neosho Township 1900
Gertrude	Worley	1880, Sept.	Kansas	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Joseph	Worley	1890, Feb.	Kansas	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Sophronia	Worley	1882, Mar.	Kansas	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Willis	Worley	1888, May	Kansas	No Occupation in 1900	Neosho Township 1900
Tennie	Young	Unknown	Unknown	Teacher	Neosho Township 1889-1892
Jake	Zater	1870, May	Ohio	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900
John	Zater		Michigan	Laborer	Neosho Township 1900

NOTE: citations are listed below as they appear in the text, including names which are listed first name then last name.

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